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HISTORY OF INDIA

From the earliest times

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BY

VĀMAN SOMNĀRĀYAN DALĀL, B.A.

Paṇḍit Bhagavānlāl Indraji Prizeman and
Nārāyaṇ Vāsudev Scholar

(BOMBAY UNIVERSITY)

Vol I.

FROM THE AGE OF THE ṚGVEDA
TO THE RISE OF BUDDHISM

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BOMBAY

1914

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The Lakshmi Art, Bombay

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Dedicated

With Permission

To

H. H. SIR SAYAJIRAO GAEKWAR

G.C.S.I., Sena Khaskhel Shamsher Bahadur &c. &c.

As a humble tribute to the Keen interest which His Highness takes in the advancement of Knowledge in all its branches.

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PREFACE.

When I commenced to write the present volume in March 1910, a complete History of India from the earliest times had not been written. Of late, however, eminent English scholars have undertaken the publication of a similar work and it is doubtful, if under the circumstances, the public will feel as much interest in the volume now placed before them, as they would have otherwise done. However, the History of India is so instructive and so full of events that interest the student of antiquity, religion and philosophy, that I do not think, my efforts in the same direction will be altogether unwelcome, and under this expectation, I submit to the public my first volume on the subject dealing with the History of India from the age of the Ṛgveda to the rise of Buddhism.

It may perhaps be contended that a person writing a complete History of India need not begin with the Vedic period, as there is much that is mythical in the books from which our information of the time must be drawn. To this, I will only reply by saying that "so great an influence has the Vedic age exercised upon all succeeding periods of Indian history, so closely is every branch of literature connected with Vedic traditions, so deeply have the religious and moral ideas of that era taken root in the mind of the Indian nation, so minutely has almost every public and private act of Indian life been regulated by old traditionary precepts, that it is impossible to find the right point of view for judging of Indian religion, morals and literature without a knowledge of the literary remains of the Vedic Age."*

* Maxmuller's Ancient Sanskrit Literature p. 9.

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Moreover, it appeard to me that I would be doing a useful service to the student of Indian history by collecting in one place, the information regarding the dynasties who ruled the country in ancient times, which lies scattered in the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Purāṇas, and by constructing therefrom an account of the history of ancient India. It is true that scholars like Macdonell and Keith are not inclined to attach much weight to the genealogical details given therein, but it may safely be said that though we find certain discrepancies therein, the lists are not altogether valueless and a comparison thereof with such details on the subject as are available in the Ṛgveda and the Brāhmaṇas shows that they are fairly consistent and reliable. Archaeological discoveries too have confirmed the evidence furnished by the Purāṇas, and have shown that many of the kings mentioned in them did actually reign. I have therefore dealt with the subject somewhat in details and I hope, the chapters relating to the subject will be found interesting and instructive.

It is here necessary to state that I do not lay claim to have advanced any new theory of my own, what I have attempted being simply to put before the reader as succinct and connected account as possible of the latest development of many a question relating to the History of India and its people in prehistoric times. If a perusal of these pages will incite in the mind of any of its readers, a curiosity to study in detail, the subjects noted here but in brief, or if it helps to serve as a guide to persons more qualified than myself in the publication of a similar work, I shall deem my labours amply rewarded.

It is somewhat premature on my part to say at this stage what the subsequent parts will treat of. I may, however, state that I intend to devote the second volume

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to the Buddhistic period, on which so much light has been thrown owing to the researches of the Archaeological Department. Volume III will treat of the Mahomedan Conquest and Vol. IV of the Mughal Empire. In Volume V, I propose to describe the conflict of nations *viz.* the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French, the English and the Marathas, and the sixth and the last volume will deal with the British supremacy.

My thanks are due to all those authors whose works I have freely quoted and whose labours, I have frequently availed myself of. I am also indebted to H. H. the Maharaja Saheb of Baroda and to his brother Shrimant Sampatrao Gaekwar for giving me a free access to their well-equipped libraries.

Lastly, I have been materially assisted in the correction of proofs by Mr. Bhāsker Janārdan Pāthekji, in preparing the index by Mr. Vyomeshchandra Janārdan Pāthekji and much more in getting the book generally through the press, by my brother Rājendra and to them also my thanks are due.

V. S. DALAL.

Baroda, 16th August, 1914.

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A HISTORY OF INDIA.

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES.

Volume I.

FROM THE AGE OF THE RGVEDA TO THE RISE OF BUDDHISM.

Introduction.

The History of India is a history, which in point of antiquity compares favourably with that of Egypt or Chaldea and in point of instructiveness with that of Greece or Rome. No other country in the world has witnessed such vicissitudes of fortune as India has and none has come out therefrom so buoyant and so successful, rising like a phoenix from the ashes, every time it appeared, as if its life would be extinct.

A very remarkable feature of the History of India, a feature which adds immensely to its importance and interest is that India is a country which has come into intimate contact with almost every nation of the world that has played a prominent part in the making up of its history. Thus, archaeological discoveries have established that it had trading relations with Egypt from the time of the pyramid builders, if not earlier. It is equally well established that its inhabitants used to carry on a lucrative trade with Babylon in rice, ivory, sandalwood and teak from the earliest times. For centuries, it stood in the heart of the civilized world and was the medium of intercourse between China, Java and Cambodia in the east and Babylon in the west. When these countries ceased to play an important part in the world's history and Greece and Rome took their place, India carried on a thriving

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trade with these countries and supplied them with their chief articles of luxury. Lastly, when the power of these countries also declined in course of time and the Arabs stepped in their place, it was India that imparted to them the knowledge of astronomy, medicine, arithmetic and algebra—sciences whose knowledge they in their turn, communicated to Europe and which are the fountain source of our present knowledge on the subjects.

Equally remarkable is the list of nations or tribes who have come and settled in India from outside and built up its history. The earliest of these were the Aryans though Sir W. Hunter is of opinion that the Dravidians and the Kolarians are not the original inhabitants of India but have come and settled in India through the north-west and north-east respectively, displacing those who resided there from the earliest times. Two other races frequently mentioned in the Purānas viz. the Haihayas and the Tālajaṅghas also appear to be an alien people who came and settled here some time later, after vanquishing the reigning dynasties. Next, we have the Greeks who, as is well known, invaded India under Alexander, occupying a portion of the Punjab and the Baktrian Greeks who advanced as far as Kathiawad. Then came the Yuetchi, a Chinese tribe who under Kaniska founded an empire which lasted upwards for one hundred years as also the Śakas, the Yavanas and the Pahlavas who played an important part in its history until their power was extirpated by Gautamīputra of the Andhra dynasty. They were followed by the Gurjaras who came and settled in such large numbers that the province which till then was known as Ānarta became known as Gujarāt after them. Two other races, the Mālavas and the Mevās too entered India about the same time and gave their name to the territory now known as Mālwā and Mewār. After them, the Huns poured into

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India under Toramāna and they were succeeded some time later by the Arabs and the Mahomedans. Lastly, within comparatively recent times, we had the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French and the English, the last of whom still control the destinies of this vast continent.

The question naturally arises why in spite of these features, a complete history of India from the earliest times to the present day has not been written ? The reason thereof is clear. Till recently, it was not possible to have any correct and reliable information about its history prior to the Mahomedan conquest. Some stray works such as the writings of Megasthenes, Strabo and Pliny and the Rāj Taraṅginī or the Chronicles of the Kings of Kashmere gave us some information about the times that preceded the Mahomedan conquest, but the information contained in them though valuable was, on the whole, meagre. We had more detailed information in the accounts which the Chinese travellers who visited India during the Buddhistic period, have left to us but even these, without the light of contemporaneous history were hard to decipher. It was not until Western scholars led by such illustrious men as Sir W. Jones, Sir Thomas Colebrooke, Dr. Wilson and Prof. Maxmuller, began to study critically the Sanskrit literature that this state of things became changed and a flood of light was thrown, on every question bearing upon Indian chronology, antiquity and history. Later on, the Government came to their aid, and the organisation of the Archaeological Department brought to light a treasure which till then had remained concealed in caves and places long forgotten.

The result is that we have now at our disposal, ample sources for the reconstruction of Indian history. It is true that in writing it, we often come across details which are sometimes exaggerated and sometimes inconsistent so that

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it is difficult to glean the truth therefrom and the difference of opinion among scholars increases the difficulty to a serious extent. Especially, does one feel a sense of bewilderment when he has to fix the chronology of the events that make up the ancient history of India but these difficulties are by no means characteristic of Indian history. They are felt in writing the history of any nation of antiquity such as the Egyptians, the Chaldeans and the Chinese and that has not prevented scholars from writing excellent histories of the countries.

The plan of the present work is briefly as follows :—

It is divided into four books, of which Book I treats of the occupation of the Punjab by the five tribes mentioned in the Ṛgveda, *viz.*, the Yadus, the Turvas'as, the Anus, the Druhyus and the Pūrus ; Book II of their advance to the east and to the south from this central basis and of the occupation of the whole of Northern India ; Book III of the period extending from the expedition of Rāma, the son of Das'aratha, who was the first to cross the Vindhyā range, as given in the Rāmāyana upto the Mahābhārata war and Book IV of the time subsequent to the Mahābhārata war upto the rise of Buddhism.

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BOOK I.

THE ARYAN CONQUEST.

Chapter I.

THE HOME OF THE ARYANS.

The history of the first of the periods referred to in the introduction is virtually the history of the early Aryan settlers, who, in times immemorial, came and settled in India, bringing with them a well developed civilisation and one of the most perfect languages viz. the Sanskrit. The question regarding their original home has been a source of much discussion and cannot even now be said to have been settled beyond controversy. The great Sanskrit scholar Prof. Max Muller was of opinion that these early Aryans came into India from Central Asia and that their original home was in Asia for the following reasons.*

> "Firstly, we have two streams of language one tending south-east to India and the other north-west to Europe. The point where these two streams intersect point to Asia."
>
> "Secondly, the earliest centres of civilised life were in Asia."
>
> "Thirdly, we see in later times, large ethnic waves rising from Central Asia and overwhelming Europe. Such are the Huns in the fourth and the Mongols in the 13th centuries."
>
> "Fourthly, if the migration had taken place from Europe to Asia, particularly from Scandinavia, we should naturally look in the

* Max Muller.—Biography of Words and the Home of the Aryans p. 116-117.

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common Aryan language for a number of words connected with maritime life. But this is not the case."

This theory was at one time generally accepted but, of late, its correctness has been impeached by various scholars.* Prof. Rhys, for instance, is of opinion that the voice of recent research is raised very decidedly in favour of Europe though there is no complete unanimity as to the exact portion of Europe, which should be regarded the early home of the Aryans. "The competition" he adds "tends to lie between North Germany and Scandinavia especially the south of Sweden x x x. But I doubt whether the teachings of evolution may not force us to trace them towards the North; in any case, the mythological indications point to some spot within the Arctic circle."† This last is the view which Mr. Tilak has taken in his book entitled. "The Arctic Home in the Vedas" and as this theory has excited a great deal of interest, we will consider the question somewhat in detail.

It will be readily admitted that the best way to consider the question is to note the characteristics or to use a logical expression, the differentiæ of the Polar region which distinguish it from the temperate or tropical regions and then to consider if there are any references in the Vedic literature which can only be explained as having a reference to that phenomenon. As is well known, the Polar characteristics are:—

(*a*) The year consists of one long day and one long night.

(*b*) There is only one morning and one evening, but the twilight whether of the morning or

* See "A Literary History of India by Fraser, for the different views entertained by scholars regarding the original home of the Aryans, as also the Origin of the Aryans by Taylor-Chapter I.

† Rhys' Hibbert Lectures—pages 631-3.

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the evening lasts continuously for about two months. It has been calculated that the year at the Pole consists of 194 days, 76 darkness, 47 days dawn and 48 twilight.

(*c*) The stars do not rise and set but revolve or spin round and round, in horizontal planes, completing one round in 24 hours.

We will next see, if there are any references to these in the Vedic literature.

And first as regards the Arctic dawn. There are numerous indications in the Vedic literature which go to establish the fact that the ancestors of the Aryan race were familiar with this noteworthy character of the Arctic regions. For instance, we have in the Taittirīya Sam'hitā VII 2,20 the threefold division of the dawn into the dawn about to rise, the rising dawn and the dawn that has arisen and separate oblations have to be offered to each. Now, as Mr. Tilak remarks, the dawn in the tropical regions is so short that there this distinction would be a distinction without a difference and it is therefore natural to conclude that the dawn which admitted such manifold division for the practical purpose of sacrifice was a long dawn. So again, in Ṛgveda I, 113, 10, we have a hymn addressed to the dawn which is translated by Dr. Wilson as follows:—

> "For how long a period, is it that the dawn has arisen? For how long a period will they rise? Still desirous to bring us light, Usas pursues the function of those that have gone before and shining brightly proceeds with the others."

It is clear that the poet is here speaking of a number of dawns, some past, and some yet to come and the two groups are said to occupy a very long interval and this is

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corroborated by what is said in the 13th verse of the same hymn, in which we are told that in former days, perpetually did the goddess Usas shine.

Another hymn which may be noted here is hymn No. 76 of the 7th Man'ḍala of the Ṛgveda, where the poet after stating in the first two verses that the dawns have raised their banners in the horizon with their usual splendour, tells us that a period of several days elapsed between the first appearance of the dawn on the horizon and the actual rising of the sun that followed it. We have a similiar reference to it in Ṛgveda II 28, 9 which is as follows:—

> "Remove far the debts (sins) incurred by me. May I not, O King, be affected by others' doings. Verily many dawns have not fully flashed forth. O Varuna, direct that we may be alive during them."

"This hymn," observes Mr. Tilak, "was a riddle to the commentators. Every dawn they saw was followed by sunrise and they could not understand how 'many dawns' could be described 'as not fully flashed forth." Sāyana, the learned annotator of the Vedas, explained it by saying that the reference here was to the dawn that had not yet dawned, or in other words, to dawns in the days to come. But it will be seen that this interpretation is not satisfactory. The poet is evidently speaking of things present and the meaning is that though many dawns have passed, the sun's orb has not yet emerged from below the horizon, an event which could only occur in the Arctic regions. Lastly, it may be noted that according to Dr. Muir, the dawn hymns are amongst the most beautiful of the Vedic hymns and the deity is considered by Macdonell to be the most graceful creation of Vedic poetry. Now, it is not likely that the dawn in the tropical regions would have attracted the notice of the Vedic poets and it is

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therefore natural to conclude that what inspired them was the beautiful phenomenon observable in the Arctic regions.

Next as regards the circular motion of the heavenly bodies, we have a reference to it in Ṛgveda 61,3 where the poet sings "Wending towards the same goal, O newly born dawn! *turn like a wheel*" and there is a reference to it again in the Taittirīya Saṁhitâ where the dawns are described as thirty sisters bearing the same banner moving on to the appointed place and *going round amidst songs*. Similarly, we have distinct references to long night and long day together equal to a year, which, as has been mentioned above is the third characteristic of the Arctic region. We will here note only two passages one from the Zend Avesta, the sacred book of the Persians and one from the Manu Smṛti, where the description is so clear as not to leave any doubt about its meaning. The passage of the Zend Avesta referred to is stanza third of Fargard I in which Ahura Mazda, the Creator describes to Zoroaster, His creation and the destruction thereof by Angra Mainyu the Spirit of Evil. It runs :—

> The first of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was the Airyana Vaêjo by the good river Daitya.
>
> Thereupon came Angra Mainyu who is all death and he counteracted by his witchcraft, the serpent in the river and the winter, a work of the Devas.
>
> There are ten winter months there, two summer months and those are cold for the waters, cold for the earth, cold for the trees. Winter falls in there with the worst of its plagues.*

* The Zend Avesta Part I p. 4. (S. B. E. Series.)

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There the stars, the moon and the sun are only once a year seen to rise and set and the year seems only as a day.*

An equally explicit statement on the subject is found in the chapter of the Manu Smrti dealing with the divisions of time. We are therein informed that a year of the mortal is a day and night of the gods, and Kullūka Bhaṭṭa in his gloss tells us that by "gods" are meant the regents of the universe placed on the North Pole. †

It will thus be seen that there is enough evidence in the most ancient books of the Aryans to justify the conclusion that the original home of the Aryan race was in the Arctic regions. From this home, they migrated owing to over-population and glaciation according to the Zend Avesta which mentions how the original home became insufficient to accomodate the increased population with their flocks and herds and how they ultimately occupied a territory double of that in which they first lived. ⊙ It then describes the destruction of this fair region of the earth, "by severe winters which brought the fierce foul frost, which made snow-flakes fall thick on the highest top of the mountains and in which three sorts of beasts perished, viz., those that lived on the top of the mountains, those that lived in the wilderness and those that lived in the bosom of the dale,‡" with the result that the Aryans abandoned this territory and occupied the northern half of Russia and the country lying in the same latitude. This tract of country, however, not being a fertile one, they had to migrate again to seek new home for themselves and fresh pasture ground for their cattle, and they separated into two branches of which one went

* The Zend Avesta p. 20.

† See the translation of Manu Smrti by Sir W. Jones.

⊙ The Zend Avesta Part I, (S. B. E.) P. 12 to 14.

‡ Ibid p. 16.

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westward and occupied those territories which the European branch now occupies and the other travelled eastward and occupied the territory mentioned in Chapter I of the Vendidad *viz.* Samarkand, Merv, Balkh, Kabul, Ispahan, Kandahar, Helmand, India and Rangha, identified by Dr. Haug to be the Caspian Sea but which according to Mr. Tilak is the same as Rasā mentioned in the Vedas along with the Kubhā (Kabul), the Krumu and the Gomatī as affluents of the Indus. As regards the order in which the names of the different countries occur, it is the opinion of some scholars that it denotes the actual route of the migration but this view is not accepted by others who think that the countries named are only meant to give a geographical description of ancient Iran. Whatever view is correct, it may at least be safely inferred that the countries named above were those which the Asiatic branch of the Aryans occupied and that Central Asia was the first territory in Asia in which they settled. From thence, a portion of them advanced southward and occupied the fastnesses of the Hindukush and thence advanced into India while the rest occupied the territory now known as Persia and Afghanistan. This accords well with the views of Dr. Grierson who is of opinion* that the Aryans wandered forth eastward from the original home of the Indo-Aryans, probably by a route north of the Caspian Sea. They settled in the country lying on the banks of the Jaxartes or the Oxus, and we may with some probability, name the oasis of Khiva as one of the most ancient seats of the Aryans in Asia. Thence, still a united people they appear to have followed the course of those rivers on the high lying country round Khokand and Badakhshan, where they separated, one portion marching south over the Hindukush, in the valley of the Kabul and thence into the plains

* Article on Language. Census of India. 1901.

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of India and the other westwards into what is now Merv and Persia.

As regards the time when the ancestors of the Aryan race lived in the Arctic regions and the date of their migration therefrom, Mr. Tilak is of opinion* that they lived there in the interglacial period when the climate was mild and genial and that the glaciation referred to in the Zend Avesta is identical with that of the Great Ice Age which covered Europe with a sheet of ice several hundred feet in thickness. He finds it difficult to fix the time when this happened with precision. The American geologists hold that the glacial period ended and the post glacial period commenced 10,000 years ago, but English scholars such as Prof. Geikie and others consider that this period is considerably underestimated and that the glacial period must have ended 80,000 years ago. The question has been very carefully considered by Dr. Croll and shortly stated his view is that "every long cold period in each hemisphere is interrupted by several shorter warmer periods and that when one hemisphere is under glaciation the other enjoys a warm and equable climate. This condition of things on the two hemispheres becomes reversed every 10,000 years or so. When the solstice passes the aphelion, the snow and ice gradually begin to diminish on the cold hemisphere and to make their appearance on the other. The glaciated hemisphere turns by degrees warmer and the warmer hemisphere colder and this continues to go on for a period of ten or twelve thousand years. It is probable that during the warm interglacial period, Greenland and the Arctic regions would be free from snow and ice and enjoying a temperate and equable climate." If then we accept this view, we may conclude that the present condition began about 8,000 B.C.

* Arctic Home in the Vedas p. 19.

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and that the ancestors of the Aryan race left the Arctic regions at the time.

We have next to ascertain when the Aryans separated. This is a somewhat difficult task but archaeological researches in Europe have placed some reliable information within our reach, and the discovery of the kitchen middens and the lake dwellings has furnished us with some useful data on the subject and as we know their date approximately, we can, by a comparison of the civilisation which they disclose, with that attained by the undivided Aryans fix the date we want.

And first as regards the kitchen middens. They may be defined to be heaps of shells, bones &c. found in caves or clefts formed by the action of sea water which are found lying scattered over the whole of Europe. After a very careful scrutiny of the materials thus found, archaeologists have come to the conclusion that in the period to which they belonged, the races of Europe had not attained to the pastoral stage and subsisted generally by fishing and hunting. Prof. Steenstrup is of opinion that they must have been formed some 10,000 to 12,000 years ago.

The lake dwellings are the earliest constructions raised by men for residence and may be described as habitations founded on piles driven in the bed of lakes. They are found in Switzerland, Germany, Austria, Hungary &c. and from such articles as have been found therein, it has been ascertained that the dwellers therein knew how to till the ground, to cultivate wheat and barley, to manufacture ropes and mats and to weave—the last mentioned fact having been deduced from the universal presence of clay weights for weaving in these huts. It further appears that they had domesticated a number of animals such as horse, sheep, goat &c. and these were

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accommodated in stalls adjoining the huts occupied by their owners. The age of the oldest of these lake dwellings, according to Mr. Morlot, ranges from 6,000 to 7,000 years. Since it has been ascertained with the aid of philology that the civilisation of the undivided Aryans was somewhat lower than that of the lake dwellers and higher than that obtaining in the period of kitchen middens, we may safely say that the Aryans were undivided in 8,000 B. C.

At this rate, we get the following dates for the events mentioned above :—

(1) 8,000 B. C. to 7,000 B. C. Migration of the Aryans from the original home in the Arctic regions owing to over-population and glaciation and their separation into two branches the European and the Asiatic towards the close of that period.

(2) 7,000 B. C. to 6,000 B. C. The Asiatic branch continued to move slowly towards the east until they came and settled in Central Asia.

(3) 6,000 B. C. to 4,000 B. C. The settlement of the Aryans in the countries mentioned in the first Fargard of the Vendidad.*

Looking to the dates generally assigned to the settlement of the Aryans in India and to their earliest work, the Ṛgveda, it would appear as if the dates given above are over-estimated. It is however possible to adduce facts other than those already detailed above in support thereof. Thus A. Schleicher a wellknown philologist, is of opinion that according to the laws governing the life of speech, the people speaking the Aryan language, must have

* The Zend Avesta Part I S.B.E. p. 4 to 10.

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existed at least 10000 years ago.* Again, the period of 1000 years assigned to the 1st period is in conformity with what is said in the second chapter of the Vendidad† which states that thrice at intervals of 300 winters each, did the territory of the Aryans become over-populated with flocks and herds and with red blazing fires, so that Yima stepped forward towards the luminous space southward to meet the sun and made the earth grow larger by one third than it was before.

Lastly, the date of the settlement in Central Asia, synchronises with that assigned to Zoroaster‡ by such classical writers as Aristotle and Hermippus *viz.* 6000 B. C. Prof. Jackson indeed observes that this extraordinary figure is presumably due to the Greeks having misunderstood the statement of the Persians who place Zoroaster's millenium amid a great period of 12000 years divided into four cycles of 3000 years each. But in this connection, it may be noted that there is no mention in the Zend Avesta of cities famous during the Median period and of those tribes or nations that were commonly known in later times and this can be only explained on the ground that the Zend Avesta and its author flourished considerably before these tribes and cities rose into eminence.

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* Quoted by Ihering in the Evolution of the Aryans p. 10

† The Zend Avesta Part I S. B. E. p. 10 to 15.

‡ Zoroaster—by Jackson p. 152; see also the Civilisation of the Eastern Iranians by Geiger.

CHAPTER II.

EARLY CIVILISATION.

Before giving the history of the settlement of the Aryans in India, it is necessary to give in brief an account of the leading features of the civilisation to which they had attained, before they came and settled in India. It is convenient to divide it into two periods viz. (I.) B. C. 8,000 to B.C. 6,000 or the period extending from the date of their migration from their original home upto the date of their settlement in Central Asia and (II) B.C. 6,000 to B. C. 4,000 or the period extending from their settlement into Central Asia till their advent into India.

During the first of these periods, their civilisation was of a very primitive type. The general mass was divided into tribes, each of which was under a chief who guided its movements in times of difficulty and defended it from his neighbours. They possessed an elementary knowledge of agriculture and were familiar with the use of the plough, the expression for which 'vṛka' which literally means a wolf in allusion to the plough tearing up the ground like the wolf tearing up its prey, points to the conclusion that they knew agriculture, when they were still in Russia, the wolf's well known habitation. It has however been ascertained on philo-logical grounds that 'manuring' was unknown with the result that the soil soon used to become unproductive and they had to migrate in search of fresh lands from one place to another at short intervals. They were acquainted with certain metals, especially copper (Sk. *Ayas* Lat. *Aes*) and silver (Sk. *Rajata* Gk. *Arguros* L. *Argentum*) but it is not

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possible to say if they had acquired the art of working them* Iron was unknown, as may be inferred from the fact that the word for it in the daughter languages is different. They were familiar with the art of constructing chariots (Sk. *Aksa*; Gk. *Axon*; Latin *Axis=Axle*) and (Sk. *Chakra*; Gk. *Kuklos*; and Latin *Circus*; Zend. *Chakhra*, wheel, circle, &c.) and with the art of constructing boats. (Sk. *Nau*; Gk. *Naus*; Latin *Navis*) and there is reason to believe that the art of weaving was also known. Their chief food was barley (Sk. Yava Gk. Zea) and they were addicted to drink (Sk. *Madhu*; Gk. *Methu*). They were familiar with a good number of domestic animals such as the ox, the bull, the horse, the sheep and the goat, and with wild animals such as the wolf and the bear.

In the matter of religion, the rudiments had begun to develop, their principal objects of worship, being the chief phenomena of nature *viz.* the Dawn (Sk. *Usas*; Zend-*Usha*; Gk. *eos, auos*; Latin-*Aurora*), the Sky (Sk. Dyaus; Gk. Zeus) and the Heaven (Sk. *Varuna*; Gk. *Uranus*). They also used to offer sacrifices (Sk. *Makha*; Gk. *Makhe, Makhaira*; Latin *Mactare*) which form such a prominent feature in the religion of the Hindus, the Persians, the Greeks and the Romans.

On the whole, however, they do not appear to have advanced beyond the stage of a pastoral nation and therefore the Zend Avesta speaks of Yima the reputed ancestor of the undivided Aryans as "the fair shepherd who made the earth thrive with flocks, herds and men." So also law was not developed when the Aryans were undivided and we therefore find it mentioned in the Vendidad that Yima

* Maxmuller.—Biography of Words p. 180 and Ihering.—The Evolution of the Aryan.

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was at first asked to be the bearer of the law, but he declined the task which ultimately fell to the lot of the prophet Zarathustra.

During the second of the periods noted above, their civilization attained a higher pitch and their settlement in Central Asia effected changes of an everlasting nature in their life. It is easy to determine the causes thereof. Before they came there, they had been roaming about in a country which was sparsely populated, if at all, and there was thus no obstruction in the way of their migrations. They now found themselves surrounded on all sides by a number of races with varying degrees of civilisation who would not have tolerated the least encroachment on their domain. They were thus constrained to give up their nomad habits and to adopt a settled life. Further, during this period they came into contact with a highly civilised nation of the time viz., the Babylonians who had acquired a great proficiency in architecture, in navigation and in the art of working metals and had made considerable progress in the study of the science of mathematics and astronomy, and as is natural, they soon profited by the progress, Babylon had made in these branches of knowledge.

The chief art which the Aryans learnt from the Babylonians was the art of working metals. It was known to the latter from the earliest times of which we have any record, having been introduced in the country by the people of Shumir and Akkad, the earliest inhabitants of the place, who in their turn had acquired that knowledge when they were staying near the Altai range which has long been famous for its rich mines of every possible metal ore. The principal metals known to them were iron, brass and gold, which were utilised by them in manufacturing utensils and ornaments. Swords and other instruments

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were also made as may be inferred from the fact that the ancestors of Shumirs and Akkad are referred to in the Bible as forgers of every cutting instrument of brass and iron.*

Another subject which the Aryans learnt from the Babylonians was the science of astronomy. Opinion is however not unanimous on the subject. Lassen's view is that the Indians acquired the knowledge of it from the Chinese. Max Muller's opinion, on the other hand, is that the study of astronomy in India was indigenous and this is also the opinion of Dr. Thibaut, according to whom what gave the first impulse to astronomical observations was the want of some rule by which to fix the right time for sacrifice. "Urged by the want" he observes "the priests remained watching night after night, the advance of the moon through the circle of the naksatras, and day by day, the alternate progress of the sun towards the north and south with the result that they became acquainted with the correct position of the stars and obtained a perfect knowledge of the solar zodiac as also of the lunar zodiac with its 27 naksatras or the 27 constellations."

The tendency of later writers† however is to regard Babylon as the place where the science was first studied it having been ascertained that they were familiar with the solar zodiac as early as 5000 B.C. and that they were the first to invent the zodiac, gnomon and clepsydra and to divide the day into the hours, we now use. Two other facts point to the same conclusion viz., that the length of the longest day is the same both in the Indian and the Babylonian accounts and the Vedic year like the Babylonian's

* See the Evolution of the Aryan p. 22-5.

† See Macdonell—Sanskrit Literature p. 425.
Macdonell & Keith's Vedic Index of Names and Subjects.

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is a solar year of 360 days, an intercalary month being added every six years to bring their calculation in harmony with actual facts. It is also a noteworthy fact that there is no mention in the Ṛgveda either of the astronomer—who is referred to first in the Yajurveda—or of the lunar mansions; all that it refers to are the phases of the moon *viz.* Rākā, or the full moon, Gungū or the new moon and Sinīvālī or the last day before the new moon but this evidently is the result of ordinary and not a scientific observation. It is indeed true that the Aryans after they came and settled in India, made considerable progress in the study of the science and carried it to a perfection to which the Babylonians did not attain but in this, there is nothing strange for there are a number of instances in which a nation who owed its first knowledge of science to another subsequently improved upon it and became proficient therein.*

Lastly, the Aryans learnt from the Babylonians the science of astrology. The Babylonians firmly believed that stars were divine beings, possessed of intelligence and will and that they ruled and shaped the destinies of men, their influence depending upon their movements, their position in the sky and their combinations. They also believed in divination or the art of divining or foretelling future events from signs and omens, based upon the belief that every object of inanimate nature was possessed by a spirit and that the higher powers ruled the affairs of men to the smallest detail. The Aryans when they came in contact with them in Persia readily learnt these things from them and they still firmly believe in its efficiency.

* See the History of Sanskrit Literature by Macdonell P. 425-6.

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CHAPTER III.

THE SEPARATION OF THE PERSIANS AND THE INDIANS.

While the Aryans were learning from the Babylonians the arts and sciences mentioned in the preceding chapter, the institutions peculiar to them were also undergoing a steady development. We have, for instance, seen that the system of offering sacrifices to various gods and divinities formed an important feature of their religion from the earliest times and it was now considerably expanded and priests called Hotṛ, Adhvaryu and Atharvan corresponding to the Zaotar, Rathwi and Āthrava of the Zend Avesta were specially trained up for the purpose. Again, the Vedic rite of Isti which consists of a series of invocations of several deities, accompained by the offering of the sacrificial cakes and Āhuti which means the invocation of a deity within the limits of Isti and which are identical with Ishti and Āzūiti of the Zend Avesta began to be systematically performed. The labours of Dr. Haug have further disclosed the fact that the Agnistoma ceremony which as its name indicates consists in the praise of Agni bears a particular resemblance to the Ijashne ceremony of the Parsees and that the Afringān ceremony of the latter is similar to the Āprī ceremony of the Vedas.

Besides the sacrificial rites, we find that mythology which forms so important a feature in the early stages of the life of a nation gradually assumed a definite shape during the period we are considering and we therefore find a number of myths common to the sacred writings of the Hindus and the Parsees. The most well-known of them is that of the demon Vṛtra– the demon of darkness–slain

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by Verethraghna of the Iranians and Vṛtrahan *i.e.* Indra of the Indians. Another myth equally old is that of Thraetaona, the Traitana of the Vedas and Fredun of the Shāhnāmeh who is described to have severed the head of a giant from his shoulders and thus relieved the people from his tyranny. (R. V. 1-158-5). Again, Kava Us-the the Kai Kaus of the Shāhnāmeh who is according to the Iranian legends, a ruler of ancient Iran and one of their greatest heroes has been indentified with Kāvya Uśanā, an epithet of Indra in the Ṛgveda, and Thrita described in the Zend Avesta as the first physician and a curer of the diseases created by Ahriman is identical with Trita of the Vedas. It is interesting to note that even at this early period, the Indo-Iranians had begun to speculate about the origin of the world, so that while among the Hindus, Prajāpati is said to have created the world by uttering the words of the nivid addressed to Agni (A. B. II 5-33-34), among the Iranians, Ahura Mazda is said to have created the world by the Yathā-ahū-vairya prayer. *

It has been also ascertained with the aid of comparative philology that many gods of the Vedic pantheon had begun to be worshipped in the Indo-Iranian period. The most prominent of this is Mitra, the sun, identical with Mithra of the Persians. Aryaman-the same as Airyaman of the Zend Avesta-who is believed to preside over marriage is another deity who was worshipped in those times. So also the Vedic god Vāyu is the same as the spirit of Vayu of the Zend Avesta and Aramati is identical with the archangel Armaiti.

Hundreds of years passed on in peace and quietude till at last a sharp schism arose amongst them. While

* Haug's Aitareya Brāhmaṇa Vol. II. p. 143.

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one section true to the traditions of the past was inclined to polytheism and to worship the various powers of nature as Devas, another was inclined to monotheism, and came to the conclusion that there was after all one great principle which guided and controlled the universe and whom they distinguished by the name of Ahura Mazda. Two great parties thus came into being, familiar to us as the Devas and the Asuras and so called after the deities they worshipped. The Śatapatha Brāhmana has preserved to us a brief yet unambiguous account of this ancient feud and we quote it in extenso, for the information of our readers. *

12. "The gods and the Asuras both of them sprung from Prajâpati, entered upon their father Prajâpati's inheritance to wit, speech-truth and untruth-both truth and untruth: they both of them spoke the truth; and indeed speaking alike, they were alike.

13. The gods relinquished untruth, and held fast to truth and the Asuras relinquished truth and held fast to untruth.

14. The truth, which was in the Asuras beheld this and said "verily the gods have relinquished untruth, and held fast to truth; well then, I will go thither. Thus it went over to the gods."

15. And the untruth which was in the gods beheld this and said, verily the Asuras have relinquished truth and held fast to untruth; well then, I will go thither. Thus, it went over to the Asuras.

16. The gods spoke nothing but truth and the Asuras nothing but untruth. And the gods speaking the truth diligently were very contemptible and were very poor; whence he who speaks the truth diligently becomes

* S'atapatha Brâhmana IX. 5. 1. (S. B. E. Vol. XLiii p. 257).

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indeed very contemptible and very poor but, in the end, he assuredly prospers for the gods indeed prospered.

17. And the Asuras, speaking untruth diligently throve even as salt soil and were very prosperous; whence he who speaks untruth diligently, thrives indeed even as salt soil and is very prosperous but in the end he assuredly comes to naught for the Asuras indeed came to naught."*

As might be expected, similar passages are also found in the sacred scriptures of the Parsees, though there the Devas are mentioned as following the unrighteous path. Thus, it is stated in Yasna xxx, 3 to 6.

" Between these two, the Devas chose not aright, even though when they came to inquire we showed them their error. But they showed the worst mind and worked together with Aeshem to harm man in this world."

" But O ! Ye Devas, ye all are the progeny of the bad mind. For the Bad Spirit Akoman has assigned to you, the irreligious one of bad thoughts, bad words and bad deeds, as a ruler" (Yasna XXXII 3 and 5).

Besides this, other facts also point to the deadly conflict between the two sections. Thus, the word Ahura which in the Avesta means the Lord and is the name of the supreme God came to mean a demon in Brāhmanical literature, and the word " Deva " which means 'a god' among the Indians became a synonym for 'a demon' among the Persians. Again, Indra who is the principal god of the Indian pantheon is referred to as a fiend in the Avesta.†

The struggle once begun became keener by degrees and the gulf which separated the two parties became

* For a different view, see the Introduction to the Zend Avesta (S. B E. series Vol. IV.).

† Haug's Aitareya Brahmana Vol. II p. 33

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wider and wider. The Asuras were successful at first for as the Aitareya Brāhmana says, the Devas and the Asuras fought in the eastern direction; there the Asuras defeated the Devas. They then fought in the western direction; the Asuras defeated the Devas again. They fought in the northern direction; the Asuras defeated the Devas again. The Devas were therefore compelled to take refuge in the north-east (of ancient Iran) and from thence, they found their way to India.

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CHAPTER IV.

THE ORIGINAL INHABITANTS OF INDIA.

When the fair complexioned Aryans in search of a new home crossed the Indian frontier, this vast peninsula was inhabited by a dark skinned people called Dāsas or Dasyus in the Ṛgveda and known to us as the Dravidians. Very little information is available regarding their early history. It is the opinion of some scholars that they are related to the aborigines of Australia and this view gets support from the fact that there is some resemblance between the numerals in Mundari and certain Australian dialects but it has been ascertained after a comparative study of the character of Australian and Dravidian crania that no such relationship really exists. Another question pertaining to them is whether they are indigenous or have come into India from elsewhere. Sir William Hunter is of opinion * that there are two branches of them viz., the Kolarians speaking dialects allied to Mundari and the Dravidians proper, whose languages belong to the Tamil family and that, of these, the former entered India from the north-east and occupied the northern portion of the Vindhyā tableland and the latter found their way into Punjab from the north-western passes. Thence, they advanced and on meeting the main body of the Kolarians, they scattered them near the Vindhyā range and continuing southwards, occupied the southern portion of the peninsula. This is also the opinion of Mr. Hewitt † and he holds that the theory that the Kolarians came from the east becomes established from the fact that they

* Indian Empire. p. 64.
† J. R. A. S. 1888-89.

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themselves say that they did so; from the fact that the most powerful and purest Kolarian tribes are found in the east and because their languages are allied to those used near the Brahmaputrâ and the Irâvâdi by the Kambojans and the Assamese. He is also of opinion that they are the earliest settlers and that they were the first to clear the forests with iron weapons and even stone implements, as may be inferred from the great number of stone axes found in various localities occupied by them.

The correctness of these conclusions is however doubted by Sir Herbert Risley* He is of opinion that the distinction between the Kolarians and the Dravidians is purely linguistic and does not correspond to any difference of physical type and that it is extremely improbable that a large body of very black and conspicuously long headed type should have come from the one region of the earth which is peopled exclusively by races with broad heads and yellow complexions. He is therefore of opinion that their geographical distribution, the marked uniformity of physical character among the more primitive members of the group, their distinct lauguages, their stone monuments and their retention of a primitive system of totemism justify us in regarding them as the earliest inhabitants of India of whom we have any knowledge. There is thus a strong difference of opinion on the subject and the question is still regarded as open.†

We will therefore leave the region of remote antiquity to which ethnological considerations take us and as we come within the range of historic times, the Dravidians appear before us as enterprising traders carrying on a thriving trade with Babylon, Palestine and other countries in the west, in those commodities for which their country

* The People of India p. 47.
† See Imperial Gazetteer Vol. I. p. 382.

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is even now famous, *viz.* Malabar teak, sandalwood and ivory. Thus, a piece of the former was found in the ruins of Mugheir, the ancient Ur of the Chaldees, built by Ur Eâ, the first king of united Babylon who ruled not less than 3000 B.C. Gold, precious stones, peacocks and aloes were also exported and we have a distinct reference to them in the Book of Kings where the ships of Solomon are said to have gone to Ophir and returned laden with these articles. Philology has further disclosed the fact that the word for peacock in the Hebrew texts of the Bible *viz.* 'Tuki' is derived from 'Tokei' the ancient poetical Tamil-Malayalam name of the peacock, meaning the bird with the splendid tail and that the Hebrew words 'ahalim or ahaloth' for the fragrant wood called 'aloes' in the Proverb VII 17. is derived from the Tamil Malayalam form of the word 'Aghil'.

The intercourse between the two countries was however by no means one sided so that while the Dravidians exported the commodities mentioned above to Babylon and the country in the neighbourhood, they imported from that country some of their notions of religion and mythology. For instance, it is generally believed that the Dravidians' worship of the Earth as the giver and maintainer of life and of the serpent Śesa as the earth god's special emblem was borrowed by them from the Akkadians who worshipped their supreme god Eâ at his holiest shrine at Eridhu in the form of a serpent. It is also believed that they were the first to import into India, the Babylonian story of the Flood—but of that hereafter.

It is difficult to ascertain what was the route of the intercourse between the two countries. Of the routes now known, it is not likely that they would have used one via the Indian ocean for neither the Babylonians nor the

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Dravidians seem to have been so far advanced in civilisation as to construct ocean going vessels. The only other route is that along the coast from Malabar to Sindh and thence to Babylon by the Persian Gulf and it appears that this was the route actually used because the account of the Greek historian Arrian mentions a maritime city named Patāla as the only place of note in the delta of the Indus and he adds that this city which was the capital of a king of the Snake race tracing descent from Vâsuki was the centre of trade between Babylon and India. This is also the opinion which Dr. Caldwell takes in his Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages,* and it derives great support from the fact that even now in the neighbourhood of Patāla, a language Brāhui is spoken which is undoubtedly a Dravidian language and which we must evidently regard as a relic of the time when the Dravidians occupied the country. It has also been ascertained that the Babylonian term for muslin is sindhu and it may be inferred that it was so called after the country from which it was exported, just as the word 'muslin' itself is derived from Mosul a city of that name on the Tigris.

The question along with the cognate subject of the art of constructing boats and ships has also been considered in detail by Mr. Hewitt in his book "The Ruling Races of Prehistoric Times" and as his remarks throw a flood of light on the subject we quote the same in extenso. "The Dravidians" he observes "like the stone men of Europe made use of the timber growing on the river banks and on the hills of the Malabar coast to build boats and vessels in which they could navigate the river reaches and make their way along the coast. It was they who first

* P. 172.

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discovered the great commercial advantages possessed by the valleys of the Tâpī and the Narmadâ and made at the mouths of these rivers the settlements which grew into the great exporting harbours of Surpâraka (Surat) and Baragyza (Broach). The first great emporium of foreign trade was Dwârakâ, the extreme western point of the peninsula and from thence, they started on coasting voyages which led them along the shore of the bay which since that time has become the delta of the Indus and founded Patāla (referred to above). Thence they made a fresh starting point for these voyages which ultimately led them to the Persian Gulf and the Euphratian countries."

As regards the internal organisation of the Dravidians, it appears that they were the originators of the system of the village communities.* Thus, Mr. Hewitt while discussing the possibilities of the races who could have founded the system is of opinion that " as wherever we find these communistic villages, we find the village religion based on tree worship, the first villages must have been organised by a people to whom trees were the home of the gods. The original system on whch these have been founded must therefore have been elaborated by a forest people and could not have originated in those countries which were the seat of the best known ancient ruling empires, Assyria and Egypt, for, in these treeless and rainless lands, no forest races could ever have founded the network of confederated villages which were to grow into the later empires, and the rule of these countries must necessarily mark a later stage in human progress, for they owed their prosperity to maritime trade and acknwledged this and the foreign origin of their supreme gods by carrying them in ships called arks in all religious processions. It is also perfectly impossible that the

* See Baden Powell. The Indian Village Communities. p. 162.

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Indian forest aborigines could have learnt how to organise their villages from the forest and the hunting races of Europe and Asia Minor for till the capacities of India as a wealth producing country had been developed by its own agriculturists, there was nothing to tempt the northern races to leave their own lands and cross the mountains and deserts which intervened between them and India. It is also equally impossible that the exact identity between the village communities of India and Europe could ever have existed unless they had a common origin. It therefore follows that agriculture was first systematically practised on a large scale in the forest lands of Southern India and that it was emigrants from thence who carried with them, the rules of the village communities as they progressed northwards."

These are words clear and emphatic from a person who has devoted himself to the subject, in favour of the Dravidian origin of the system. As regards its details, we may, having regard to the possible numbers of the earliest agricultural tribes as well as to the immense area of the country, conclude that the villages were scattered in the jungle clad plains at considerable distances apart but within certain general boundaries of clan territory. Each village group contained a number of household or family holdings, the holdings being large or small as the means and requirements of each suggested and for every such group, there was a village chief for whom along with the national deity, special land was reserved. The various chiefs were naturally linked together by the necessity of a common action for the protection from outside but beyond this, they were independent of others. As might have been expected, the necessity of water for sustaining life made them always select sites on the banks of rivers and

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rivulets and we therefore find many a chieftain of the Dasyus whose names have been preserved to us in the Ṛgveda described as living near rivers or streams. Thus one chieftain by name Kuyava is spoken of as living on the river Śifā and one Krsna on the banks of the Amsumatī while a third named Ayu on the banks of the Anjasī, Kulisī and Vīrapatnī.

The land was cultivated not by the plough but by hand labour with pointed sticks, the use of cattle for purposes of agriculture being impossible in the tiger haunted forests of the earliest settlers. Rice was the chief crop grown and as the Greek word for it 'orusa' is derived from the Tamil 'arisi' it may be inferred that it was exported by them to foreign countries from the earliest times.

Their family system was essentially matriarchal. There was no marriage between individuals but the women of one village united with the males of the neighbouring villages and their offspring resided in the village of the mother. The mother was thus the natural guardian of the children born of her and all the children in the village stood in the relation of brothers and sisters between whom marriage was prohibited. Such system contrasted strongly with the system of marriage which obtained among the Aryans whose family was based on the patriarchal system and consequently when the Aryans proceeded to the south of the Vindhya range where these customs were followed in all their nakedness, these customs attracted their attention and notices regarding them are found here and there in their literature. Thus in the passage describing the advance of Sahadeva,* one of the five Pândava brothers towards the south, it is mentioned that there

* Mahābhārata-Sabhā Parva. Chap XXXI.

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the women were not obliged to confine themselves to one husband, and in another, Karna, Arjuna's rival denounces the Vāhlīka women for acting as Dravidian women do by indulging in indiscriminate concubinage, drinking spirits, and singing and dancing in public places, dressed and undressed.*

Besides the Dasyus, the Rāksasas also called the Yātudhānas are frequently referred to in the Ṛgveda. It is difficult to say if by this term is meant a race of people distinct from the Dasyus. According to Prof. Max Muller, the word 'Raksas' originally meant strong and powerful but it soon came to be used in the sense of a giant and a barbarian and the Rāksasas are therefore described as flesh—eaters and even as raw eaters—the cooking of meat being a distinguishing feature of civilised nations and being frequently invested with a sacrificial character. They are also called "anagnitra" *i.e.* those who do not keep the fire and Mūradevas or worshippers of mad gods and the term 'Rāksasas' is therefore often applied in the later literature to denote the aboriginal people who were hostile to the Sanskrit speaking Indians, who differed from them in civilization and religion and who inhabited the southern coast of India and the island of Ceylon. A peculiar trait about them was that though they were considerable in numbers, they did not, like the Dasyus, engage in decisive conflicts with them but carried on a sort of guerilla warfare attacking them at night, plundering their property, carrying away their cattle and disturbing them in the performance of their sacrifice. Their complexion was black and they had distinct ethnographic peculiarities being wooly haired, thick tipped and fierce in appearance.

* Karna Parva Chap. XL—XLV.

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Another people referred to in the Ṛgveda are the Pis'āchas described to be reddish in appearance and uttering fearful yells (RV. I. 133. 2-5). It does not give us any further particulars but from the researches made by Dr. Grierson, it appears that a language called Pis'ācha is still spoken in the small tract of country between the Punjab and the Hindukush mountains, and that it possesses an extraordinarily archaic character, words being still in every day use there, which are almost identical with the forms they assume in the Vedic hymns and which only survive in a much corrupted state in the plains of India. We may therefore identify the tribe speaking the language as the descendants of this primitive tribe. The most precious inheritance which we have received from them is the Bṛhat Kathâ which tradition says was originally written in the Pis'ācha language and from that translated into Sanskrit.

Two other races mentioned frequently in later literature though not in the Ṛgveda are the Nāgas and the Yaksas. Of these, the former are probably identical with the Nāgas, at present inhabiting Chota Nagpur and the country in its vicinity but who during the early period of Indian history were distributed over the whole of India and were specially powerful in the country near the mouth of the Indus, near the Vindhya range and in the south. From the records of the Buddhists, it also appears that they were in occupation of the northern and western parts of Ceylon when the island was visited by Buddha in the 5th year of his mission. Although they are generally described in the Purānas and in similar literature as human beings with the body of serpents, they are never represented in this manner in the Sinhalese carvings but are painted like ordinary human beings

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except that they have behind or at the side the cobra's head with outspread hoods.

The Yaksas, the Yak-khas of the Pâli literature, are mentioned sometimes in the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata and frequently in the Buddhistic writings but not in a way which would enable us to have any definite idea about them. All that can be gathered regarding them is that their king was Kubera and that he was ruling in Ceylon before Rāvana dispossessed him of his kingdom and established his authority in the Island. When the Indian prince Vijaya who was the first to go and settle in the country went there in the year of Buddha's death he found them inhabiting the island in large numbers and it was not until he married a Yaksa princess that he was able to overcome them and establish his superiority in the place.

In addition to the people mentioned above the Aitareya Brāhmana gives the names of some minor tribes staying in particular localities viz. the Nīchyas and Apāchyas living on the western coast, the Andhras living to the south of, the Vindhya range and the Pundras, Śabaras, Pulindas and Mūtibas scattered over the remaining part of the country. A people called Nis'āda are also mentioned as staying near the Vindhya range, and they are probably identical with the Bhīls of modern times.

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CHAPTER V.

THE CONFLICT BETWEEN THE ARYANS AND THE DASYUS.

It is difficult to ascertain the route by which the Aryans crossed over to India. However as the Ṛgveda mentions chiefly the five rivers of the Punjab *e. g.* Vitastā, Asiknī, Parusnī, Śutudrī and Vipāś (corresponding to the modern Jhelum, the Chenab, the Ravi, the Sutlaj and the Bias) and there is no reference to any other rivers of India except to the Ganges and the Yamunā, which are spoken of as forming the eastermost limit of their settlement, it may be safely assumed that Punjab was the first territory they occupied. This inference is strengthened by the fact that the mountains spoken of are situated in the same locality *viz.* the Mūjavat situated to the south-west of Kashmir and the home of Soma, the Trikakud, known as Trikuta in later times through which the Asiknī flowed and the Nāvaprabhramsana, identified to be the same as Naubandhana on which Manu's ship rested, according to the Indian Story of the Flood.

As regards the details of the contest between the Aryans and the Dasyus, the Ṛgveda forms the only source of our knowledge and we learn therefrom that while there were on the one hand, the original inhabitants of India fighting desperately for the land, they had long possessed, there was launched against them a sturdy race firmly believing in the dispensation of a higher Providence and impelled by that enthusiasm which always characterises a young and rising nation. Oft has this happened in the History of India and the result has uniformly been

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that the old inhabitants have succumbed to the attack of the invaders. The fate of the Dasyus was the same; they were overpowered and the Aryans occupied their place.

The task before them was however by no means easy. Surrounded on all sides by the Dasyus and unacquainted with the topography of the country, they often used to find themselves in a difficult position and fervently did they pray to God to protect them, to give them success and to destroy the foe. Thus in one of the hymns, they pray, O ye gods! we have travelled far and lost our way and come to a region where cattle do not pasture. The extensive region gives shelter to Dasyus only. O Bṛhaspati, lead us in our search for cattle. O Indra! show the way to your worshippers, who have lost the way." In another hymn, they say "we are surrounded on all sides by the Dasyus. They do not believe in anything; their rites are different; they are not men. O destroyer of foes, kill them. Destroy the Dāsa race." In a third hymn, the poet says "Distinguish between the Aryans and those who are Dasyus, chastising those who observe no sacred rites, subject them to the sacrificer."

They had frequently to contend against heavy odds. Thus Dabhīti, an Aryan chieftain had to fight with thirty thousand Dāsas, and in another hymn, Indra is thanked for having crushed twenty kings of men and their sixty thousand and ninety nine followers. A chieftain named Ṛjis'van is said to have blockaded a hundred cities of Vangṛda and a heroic king Kutsa to have slain fifty thousand black complexioned enemies in battle, so that the earth—as the poet graphically puts it,—became the burial ground of the Dāsas.

Unable to resist the attack of the Aryans, the unfortunate Dasyus sometimes used to take shelter under for-

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tresses called " Purs", but the energy of their enemies was equal to the occasion and a number of them were either destroyed or set on fire. Thus Indra and Agni are said in one place to have shattered by one effort ninety castles belonging to the Dasyus and another hymn addressed to Indra mentions that he destroyed hundreds of unequalled castles of the Dasyus Śambara. Some of these castles are described as made of stone and some of iron and there is in one place, a reference to the moving castles of Śusna. It is however difficult to say whether the reference in the above passages is to artificial fortifications or to natural mountainous barriers behind, which we may well imagine, the Dasyus concealed themselves. The latter view is probably the sounder because there is nothing to show that the Dasyus were so much advanced in civilisation as to construct regular fortifications. In fact, had they known the art, it is a question if the Aryans who were comparatively small in number, would have succeeded in vanquishing them, as they ultimately did.

The wealth of the Dasyus naturally fell into the hands of their Aryan conquerors. We are for instance informed in one place that surrounding those (Asuras) who had carried away Dabhīti, Indra burnt all their weapons in in the blazing fire and presented him with cows, horses and chariots and in another place, it is stated that Indra hurled down Śambara from the mountains for the sake of Atithigva, bestowing great wealth by his power (R. O. I 130. 7.) In one hymn, the priest piously exclaims 'kill all those who make no oblations, though difficult to destory and who cause thee no gladness ; give us their wealth ; the worshipper expects it' (I. 176-4).

It will thus be seen that the picture which the Vedic hymns present to us of the struggle between the

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Aryans and Dasyus in the Punjab is by no means a pleasant one. Thousands of Dāsas were slain, their habitations destroyed, their castles burnt and their wealth taken possession of by the victors. One remarkable hymn (II. 307) even informs us that a Dāsa took his wives to the battle-field—as the Rajputs did in later times—and concealing his fair ones proceeded to fight with his enemies. Fate was however against them and under the leadership of such chiefs as Divodāsā, Sudās, Susravās and Kutsa, the Aryans steadily drove the Dasyus more and more eastwards until they became the masters of the whole of the Punjab.

As regards the extent of the territory occupied by them, we have a fair index in hymn No. 75 of the tenth Mandala where the poet prays to all the rivers, he was acquainted with, to shower favours upon him.

"1. O Ye Streams! the bard celebrates your excellent prowess in the house of the worshipper. They flow in three systems, seven streams in each system. The prowess of the Indus is superior to that of all others.

"2. O Indus! When you ran towards lands rich in food, Varuna opened out the way for you. You flow over a spacious path; on the land you shine above all flowing rivers.

3. The mighty sound of the Indus ascends above the earth to the sky. She flows with mighty force and in radiant form. Her mighty sound is heard as if rains are descending from the clouds with great noise. The Indus comes roaring like a bull.

4. As cows bring milk to their calves even thus O, Indus, the other streams come sounding to you with their waters. As a king marches with his forces to battle even thus you march in front with two systems of rivers flowing by your side.

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5. O Gaṅgā ! O Yamunā and Sarasvatī and Śutudrī and Parusnī, share this my praise among you ! O river combined with Asiknī ! O Vitastā ! O Ārjīkīyā (Beas) combined with the Susomā (Indus) hear my words.

6. O Indus ! first thou flowest united with Tṛistāmā, then with Susartu and Rasā and the Śvetī. You unite Krumu (Kurum river) and Gomatī (Gomal river) with Kubhâ (Cabul river) and Mehatnu. You proceed together with these rivers.

7. The irresistible Indus proceeds straight, white and dazzling in splendour ! She is great and her waters fill all sides with mighty force. Of all the flowing rivers, none is flowing like her. She is wild like a mare, beautiful like a well developed woman.

8. The Indus is ever young and beautiful. She is rich in horses, in chariots, and in garments ; she is rich in gold and is beauteously clad. She is rich in cows and in wool and in straw, and has covered herself with sweet flowers.

9. The Indus has fastened horses to her easy chariot and has brought food therein to us. The greatness of the chariot is extolled as mighty ; it is irresistible and great and rich in its fame.

As remarked by Prof. Max Muller, the hymn shows the widest geographical horizon of the poets of the Ṛgveda, confined by the snowy mountains in the north, the Indus and the range of the Suleiman mountains in the west, the Indus or the sea in the south and the valley of the Jamnā and the Ganges in the east. Beyond that the world though open was unknown to the Vedic poets.

The chief tribes who came and settled in India, judging from the frequent reference to them in the Ṛgveda were the Pūrus, the Turvas'as, the Yadus, the Anus and

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the Druhyus referred to collectively as the five tribes. Of these, the Pūrus settled on the banks of the Sarasvatî, a tributary of the modern Sutlej which has since lost itself in the sands; the Anus were settled on the Parusnī and the priestly family of the Bhṛgus lived with them and the Druhyus lived in their neighbourhood. The names of certain other tribes are also mentioned, the more important among them being the Gandhāris settled in the north-west of India the Tṛtsus, the Matsyas and the Sṛnjayas. They were often at war with one another and we have reference to it in many a hymn of the Ṛgveda, the most wellknown of these being that which describes the battle of king Sudās, the leader of the Tṛtsus and his allies the Sṛnjayas with the Druhyus, the Anus, the Turvas'as, the Matsyas and the Bharatas (VII 18·6). The battle was fought on the banks of the Parusnī and the latter confederation was repulsed with heavy loss, as they attempted to cross the river.

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CHAPTER VI.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION.

The political organization of the Aryans during the period of the Ṛgveda was modelled on the tribal basis. The family was the unit and a number of these formed the sub-clan, the tract they occupied being known as 'grāma' and their head being called the grāmanī. The sub-clans united together made the clan and the territory occupied by them was called a Vis' or settlement, and their chief the Vis'pati. Over the head of these Vis'patis was the Rājā, the leader of a number of clans which collectively constituted the tribe.

As regards the distribution of lands, there is nothing in the Ṛgveda to show that the community as such held any land. On the other hand, what little evidence there is goes to establish the fact that the tenure of land was individual, each field being measured and an uncultivated strip of land being left between two fields. The village is moreover regularly contrasted with the Aranyaka or forest and its animals and plants with those that lived or grew wild in the woods. Besides the peasantry, the village also contained smiths, carpenters and chariot-makers.

Being not firmly established and having still to wage a continuous war with the Dasyus, the chief concern of the leaders of these tribes was to concert measures for the defence of their territory from the attacks of their enemies and the acquisition of fresh territory by the strength of their arms, whenever there was an opportunity to do so.

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Every chief therefore fixed the quota which his clan or sub-clan had to contribute for the common welfare and led them on to the field of battle. The king did not yet possess any such distinctive rights as are generally attached to kingship and was only regarded as 'primus inter pares.' His revenue consisted of whatever he achieved by his own exertions, although whenever there was an occasion to do so, contributions and gifts were offered to him. He also kept to himself a considerable part of the booty acquired by him in war or in a successful foray and of the tribute exacted from a defeated adversary.

A question about which there is some difference of opinion is whether the kingship was hereditary or elective in these primitive times. Some scholars are inclined to think that it must have been hereditary because in the Ṛgveda, the regal power is spoken of as being vested in one and the same family *e.g.* the Pūrus, the Tṛtsus &c. On the other hand, there is a reference to persons electing the king in hymn 125 of the tenth book and also in another hymn, containing the benediction pronounced on the king at the time of his accession to power. It has been translated as follows :—

"Be with us, I have chosen thee, stand steadfast and immoveable,
Let all the people wish for thee; let not thy kingdom fall away.
Be even here, fall not away; be like a mountain unremoved;
Stand steadfast here like Indra's self and hold thy kingship in thy grasp.

. . . .

Firm is the sky and firm the earth and steadfast also are these hills.
Steadfast is all the living world and steadfast is the king of men.

. . . .

On constant Soma, let us think, with constant sacrificial gifts:
And then may Indra make the clans bring tribute into thee alone.

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These verses suggest the inference that the kingship was elective at the time and this is perhaps the correct view for in those times, it was of the utmost importance that the king who was their leader in war and their chief counsellor in peace was a man of real talents and sound ability and as is wellknown, a person deriving his title by heredity was less likely to fulfil these requirements than one who was elected.

As the individual looked to his clan or tribe for the rectification of any wrong done to him and as every question pertaining to the joint interests of the clan or tribe was settled by the members thereof meeting in 'sabhā' or 'samitis', no division of the work which is generally attended to by kings had yet been effected or was indeed necessary. Administration of criminal justice had also not been organised, the system that was in vogue being that of wergeld according to which those who were wronged were at liberty to chastise the offender.

The person next in importance to the king was the Purohita. Not only was he a prominent figure on the occasion of all religious ceremonies but he was also rising into fame as a composer of those hymns which led his people on to victory. As has been well observed* "not by the king's valour nor by his wellknown heroic might nor by the impetuous rush of the conquering tribes was victory to be gained. It was the incantation of the haughty Purohita who summoned the gods to hover near and win the day that cheered on the clansmen and made them secure of victory." His prayers, they devoutly believed even made the mountains lower their heights and the rivers to divide into two and we have a very interesting picture of these peculiar ideas in a hymn in which

* A Literary History of India by Frazer.

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Vis'vāmitra asks the rivers Vipās' and Śutudrī to allow the army of the Bharatas and his confederates to pass through them. The verses in the beginning give a description of the two rivers and this is followed by a dialogue between the rivers and the sage.

"Down from the mountains in merry race like two mares let loose or two comely mother kine at play, Vipās' and Śutudrī run along carrying their milk-like waters.

2. Spurred on by Indra like swift charioteers, ye hasten to the mighty mass of waters; with swelling waves, ye beautiful ones run close to one another.

3. I went down to the most motherly of streams, to Vipās', the wide, the fair—to the two that, like a pair of mother kine fondling their calves, wander along to meet in one broad bosom.

4. Swelling with sweet waters, travelling along towards the god-created bosom, naught can stay our swift current: what is the wish of the bards that he calls to us rivers?

5. Hark to my devout song and stay your course for a brief rest, ye holy ones; to you rivers calls my heart's loud prayer: with longing I call out to you, I, the son of Kus'ika.

6. He whose arm bears the lightning, Indra, broke the way for us, killing Vṛtra, who shut in the waters; the beauteous Savitar, the god, guides us on; following his lead, we spread our water wide.

7. This heroic deed be praised for ever more, that Indra did when he cut the Serpent in pieces. With his

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lightning, he struck the robbers; the waters sped away whither they longed to go.

8. Forget never, O Bard, this word of thine; let the latest generations hearken to it; give us a loving word in thy songs, O poet, let us not be forgotten of men and honour shall be paid to thee.

9. Hear then, sisters, what the poet says: I came to you from far with loaded waggons. Now bend ye low give me an easy ford: let not your waves touch my axle-tree, O rivers.

10. We will heed thy word, O Ṛsi that com'st to us from far with loaded waggons: I bend low before thee as a willing slave as to her lord submits the bride.

11. But when the Bharatas' host, animated by Indra and full of ardour has quickly forded thee, then let the current shoot up again with arrow's fleetness: this is the boon, I beg of you, ye holy ones.

12. The Bharatas, filled with ardour of battle, have crossed: the bard did win the rivers' favour. Now swell, now grow rapidly to end the work, and hasten onwards with well filled beds."*

That the people should believe that the Purohita had the power to work such miracles was in itself sufficient to make him popular with them but, besides this, there was another cause which contributed to the same effect viz. that the Aryans were at the time we are speaking of, slowly emerging out of the theological stage in which the human mind interprets all causation in terms of the direct activity of a god or gods and were steadily attaining to the second or metaphysical stage, wherein no one was more qualified to guide them than the priestly

* Vedic India—The Story of the Nations p. 330-1.

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poet. Moreover, being free from the anxiety of the state he had both the time and the inclination to think of and to work out the problems which conduced to the welfare of the people and these facts while they on the one hand continued to increase the influence which he already possessed over the mind of the people, on the other hand made it incumbent on the king to consult him in all affairs of state and he became the trusted adviser of the king and the spokesman of the people.

The priest has thus played a very important part in the History of India and the names of the priestly families who attained to distinction have been naturally enough preserved to us as carefully as those of the ruling dynasties. Chief among them were the dynasties founded by Vis'vâmitra, Vasiṣtha, Bharadvāja, Kaṇva, Aṅgiras, Vāmadeva and Gṛtsamada. Each of them is the reputed author of one Mandala of the Ṛgveda; thus out of the ten Mandalas into which it is divided, the second is ascribed to Gṛtsamada, the third to Vis'vâmitra, the fourth to Vāmadeva, the fifth to Atri, the sixth to Bharadvāja, the seventh to Vasiṣtha, the eighth to Kaṇva, the remaining being composed by Ṛsis of different families.

Enmity between the priestly families was a thing of as common an occurrence as that among the ruling dynasties. Especially, did fierce antagonism prevail between the Vasiṣṭhas and the Visvâmitras as will appear from the following extract from hymn No. 53 of the third Mandala containing an imprecation against Vasiṣṭha. It runs:—

"21. Indra, approach us to-day with many excellent succour; be propitious to us. May he who hates us fall low; and let the breath of life foraske him, whom we hate.

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22. As the tree suffers from the axe, as the Śimbala flower is broken, as the cauldron boiling over casts forth foam, so may the enemy, O Indra.

23. The might of the destroyer is now perceived. Men lead away the Ṛsi as if he were a beast. The wise do not condescend to ridicule the fool. They do not lead the ass before the horse.

24. These Bharatas have learnt to turn away from, not to associate with the Vasisthas. They urge the horse against them as against a foe. They bear about the bow in battle."

Vasistha fiercely replied to this in his hymn No 104 of the seventh Mandala :—

"13. Soma does not bless the wicked nor the ruler who abuses his power. He slays the demon ; he slays the untruthful man. Both are bound by the fetters of Indra.

14. If I had worshipped false gods or if I had called upon the gods in vain—but why are thee angry with me, O Jātavedas ? May vain talkers fall into thy destruction.

15. May I die at once if I be a Yātudhāna, or if I hurt the life of any man. But may he be cut off from his ten friends, who falsely called me Yātudhāna.

16. He who called me a Yātudhāna when I am not so or who said I am a bright devil—may Indra strike him down with his great weapon. May he fall the lowest of all beings."

Such was the state of feeling between the two rival families. As years rolled on the history of these families became shrouded in obscurity but the memory of the antagonism between them survived and a number of legends were invented to explain it. It is however outside the scope of this work to refer to them and we therefore close this chapter asking the more inquisitive reader to peruse the Purānas for a detailed account.

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CHAPTER VII.

THE VEDIC RELIGION.

The religion of the Ṛgveda is pre-eminently the worship of nature in its beneficent aspect. As we have seen, this was the main feature of their religion, when the Aryans were not divided into the European and the Asiatic branches and it continued to be its leading feature until Zoroaster pointed out the importance of the malevolent aspect of nature, in guiding the affairs of the universe and thereby laid the foundation of his dualistic religion. This, as we have seen, led to a serious split among them with the result that while those who settled in Iran became converted to his faith, those who came and settled in India stuck to the worship of nature adding new deities, whose character corresponded to that of the physical phenomenon around them to their original pantheon. We therefore find, in the Ṛgveda, a number of hymns dedicated both to what we may conveniently designate the older and the newer duties.

The oldest of these deities is Dyaus pitar, corresponding to Zeus Pater of the Greeks and Jupiter of the Romans, as previously mentioned. There are many detached verses addressed to him, but there are some hymns specially addressed to him along with Pṛthivī (the Earth) e.g. I. 159, I. 160; I. 185, IV 56, VI 70 and of these, we quote hymn No. 159 of the first Mandala.*

"At the festivals, I worship with offerings and celebrate the praises of Heaven and Earth, the promoters

* Original Sanskrit Texts Vol V. p. 21 (3rd Edition).

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of righteousness, the great, the wise, the energetic who having gods for their offspring thus lavish, with the gods, the choicest blessings, in consequence of our hymn."

"With my invocations, I adore the thought of the beneficent father and that mighty inherent power of the mother. The prolific parents have made all creatures and through their favours (have conferred) wide immortality on their offspring."

Simple as this hymn is, it illustrates well how the human mind in its infancy seeks to interpret the origin of the universe, ascribing it to the agency of the two vast works of nature which first arrest man's attention viz. the sky and the earth. As the Aryans progressed, their ideas became more complex and Varuna (corresponding to the Uranus of the Greeks) took the place of Dyaus pitar. He is described as a deity of illimitable resources who upholds heaven and earth and who makes the golden revolving sun to shine in the firmament. Obeying his dictates, the moon walks in brightness and the stars which appear in the nightly sky mysteriously vanish in daylight. It is he who hollowed out channels for the rivers and it is in accordance with his command that they pour their waters in the ocean but never fill it. He knows the flight of birds in the sky, the path of ships on the ocean and the course of the far travelling wind. He also sees all the things that have been or shall be done and his ordinances are fixed and unassailable.

Varuna is thus one of the important deities of the Ṛgveda—the earliest deity whose conception led the mind of the Aryans from Nature to Nature's Creator. He is also spoken of as the god of the ocean. Thus hymn 49 of the seventh Maṇḍala runs :—May the waters which

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are celestial and those which flow, those for which channels are dug and those which are self-produced, those which are proceeding to the ocean and are bright and purifying, preserve me. May those waters in the midst of which king Varuna goes, beholding the truth and falsehood of men, which drop sometimes and are bright and purifying, preserve me.

The boundless sky and the mighty ocean thus formed the subject of adoration of the Aryans from the earliest times. Another phenomenon of nature which they beheld with wonder and reverence was the dawn as it gradually brought to light, the world enveloped in the darkness of night and, they worshipped it under the name of Usas. The hymns addressed to her have a high artistic merit as the following translation by Dr. Muir will show* :—

Hail, Usas, daughter of the sky,
Who borne upon thy shining ear
By ruddy steeds from realms afar
And ever lightening, drawest nigh.
Thou sweetly smilest, goddess fair
Disclosing all thy youthful grace
Thy bosom bright, thy radiant face
And lustre of thy golden hair.
(So shines a fond and winning bride
Who robes her form in brilliant guise
And to her lord's admiring eyes
Displays her charms with conscious pride,
Or virgin, by her mother decked
Who glorying in her beauty shows,
In every glance her power she knows
All eyes to fix, all heart subject,
Or actress by her skill in song
And dance and graceful gesture light,
And many coloured vestures bright
Enchants the eager gazing throng,

* Muir's Original Sanskrit Texts Vol. V. p. 196 (Third Edition.)

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Or maid who wont her limbs to lave
In some cool stream among the woods
Where never vulgar eye intrudes
Emerges fairer from the wave).
But closely by the amorous sun
Pursued and vanquished in the race
Thou soon art locked in his embrace
And with him blendest into one.

Another deity belonging to the older hierarchy is Agni. He is said to have at first existed potentially, but not actually in the sky and to have been generated by Indra between the clouds*. In another place, we are told that he was first discovered by Bhṛgu, in the invisible heaven, that Mātaris'van brought him down and that Atharvan and Aṅgiras, the first sacrificers installed him in this world as the protector of men. In some passages, he is also represented as having a triple existence viz. as the sun on heaven, as lightning in the atmosphere, and as ordinary fire in the earth. We will quote here one of the hymns sung in his praise.

"I call for you Agni, shining with beautiful shine, praised with beautiful praise, the guest of the clans, the receiver of fine offsprings who is desirable like Mitra (or like an ally) Jātavedas the god among godly people.

2. The Bhṛgus worshipping him in the abode of the waters, have verily established him among the clans of Āyu. Let him surpass all worlds, Agni, the steward of the gods, the possessor of quick horses.

3. The gods have established beloved Agni, among the human clans, as (people) going to settle (establish) Mitra. May he illuminate the nights that are longing for him, he who

* RV. X 5-7, II 12, 3.

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should be treated kindly by the liberal (worshipper) in his house.

4. His prosperity is delightful as a good pasture, delightful is his appearance when the burning one is driven forward, he who quickly shaking his tongue among the plants, waives his tail mightily like a chariot horse.

5. When they praised to me the monstrous might of the eater of the forests, he produced his shining colour as (he has done) for the Us'ijs. With shining splendour he has shone joyously, he who having grown old has suddenly become young.*

Equal in importance to any one of the gods above mentioned and grander in conception is Sūrya answering to the Greek Helios and the Latin Sol. He is also addressed as Savitṛ and as Mitra (corresponding to the Mithra of the Persians). Of these, Savitṛ is pre-eminently the rising sun. Luminous in his aspect, he ascends a golden car, drawn by radiant, brown, white footed horses, and beholding all creatures, he pursues an ascending and descending path. Surrounded by golden lustre, he illuminates the atmosphere and all the regions of the earth while his robust and golden arms, which he stretches out to bless and infuse energy into all creatures reach to the utmost end of heaven. Sūrya on the other hand is generally used in the sense of the sun that has risen. He is the son of Dyaus and also styled the son of Aditi. His chariot is drawn by seven fleet and ruddy horses and Pūsan goes as his messenger with his golden ships which sail in the aerial ocean. He is the preserver and soul of all things

* Vedic Hymns (S. B. E.) p. 202.

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stationary and moving, he drives away disease and evil dreams; and he measures the days and prolongs life.

The sun is also addressed in the Ṛgveda under the name of Visnu and is said to traverse the world in three steps, the reference obviously being to the three chief stages in the course of the sun through the sky. As has been well observed, it was this simple metaphor which furnished the material for the elaborate story of Bali and Vāmana in the Purānas.

Another god belonging to the old pantheon is Yama, the god of the dead, corresponding to Yima of the Persians. We are told in hymn No 12 of the tenth Mandala that

> He went before and found a dwelling for us
> A place from which no power can ever bar us
> Whither our fathers all long since journeyed,
> His path leads every earth-born mortal thither.*

His abode is in the innermost heaven and there the departed see him associated in blessedness with Varuna. He has a sister named Yamī and there is an interesting hymn (X 10-1) in which she asks her brother to marry him though he refuses to do so—a reference probably to day and night which though they follow each other can never unite.

Lastly, we may put in this category of the older gods, the gods Vāyu and Vāta. Of these, Vāyu is said to awake Purandhi the morning, as the lover arouses the sleeping maid, to reveal heaven and earth and to brighten the dawn. He protects every being from the powerful spirits and the tired hunter seeks luck of him in the chase. Vāta is probably the personification of the whirlwind and his chariot is therefore said to go crashing and thundering, touching the sky and scattering the dust of the Earth. He is the breath of the gods, the germ of the world and his roar is heard though his form is not seen.

* Kaegi's 'Ṛgveda' translated by Arrowsmith p. 69.

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A deity about whose origin there is some difference of opinion is Indra. European scholars, generally speaking, are of opinion that he is essentially Indian in conception. Mr. Kunte however holds* that he is one of the most ancient gods of the Aryan race and is identical with Odin being originally Vindra, which means obtainer and that it became changed into Vind, Uind, Oind and Odin. So again, Indra is called Bhagas and he considers this to be identical with Bakxos of the Greeks.

With regard to the development of the various qualities ascribed to Indra, Mr. Kunte observes that he was at first no god at all but the imaginary spirit which possessed the leader of a gang of hunters—he was a personification of the afflatus which produced fury in a hero and led him on, regardless of life, to attack his enemy. The Maruts or killers (from *mar*-to kill) were those who accompanied their leader in a hunting expedition and aided him or rather Indra who had possessed him and shared the feast with him when a wild animal was seized and roasted. * * * . During the second stage or the pastoral period of civilisation, the notion about Indra underwent important modifications. His weapons were then a hook such as a shepherd carries and thus we find a poet saying in VIII, 85, 3 "O Thou, O wise (Indra)—carriest a long hook like a spear and (holdest fast therewith) as a goat (catches) a branch with its forefoot." They compared showers of rain required for the grass they wanted for their cattle, to streams of milk from the teats of their cows and fancied that thunder was produced by a celestial Rudra who yelled when beating the forest. Lastly, when they came and settled in India, Indra came to be regarded

* Vicissitudes of Aryan Civilisation in India p. 22 to 25.

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as a god of war, as a friend of the Aryans and a terror of their foes.

He however still continued to be regarded as the giver of rain and some of the best hymns of the Ṛgveda are those which describe Indra's fight with Vṛtra the demon of drought who confines the waters in the sky and does not allow them to descend on the earth. He is assisted in the fight by the Maruts who have a sunlike brilliancy, are decked with helmets of gold and carry lightning in their hands. Young and impetuous, they dash along with the fury of the tempestuous winds eager to fight with their enemy and force him to surrender. The struggle however does not begin at once. An ultimatum is sent in which Saramā acting as a messenger informs Vṛtra of the power of Indra and advises reconciliation but the attempt proves fruitless and a fearful struggle thereupon ensues between Vṛtra and his opponents, which makes men tremble and the earth to quake. At last, the demon is overpowered and as a result thereof, the waters confined by him are released and pour in torrents, the rivers are filled and roll on to the ocean and nature assumes a bright and cheerful aspect.

It is easy to see that we have here a graphic description of the phenomenon observed in India on the breaking of the monsoon, whose approach is awaited with feverish anxiety and which is generally preceded by tempestuous winds, thunder and lightning. The hymns giving the details of the fight with Vṛtra are interesting and we will quote here one from among the many on the subject.

"1. We sing the heroic deeds which were performed by Indra, the thunderer. He destroyed Ahi and caused rains to descend and opened out the paths for the mountain streams to roll.

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"2. Indra slayed Ahi resting on the mountains; Tvastar had made the far reaching thunderbolt for him; waters in torrents flowed towards the sea, as cows run eagerly towards their calves.

"3. Impetuous as a bull, Indra quaffed the Soma juice; he drank the Soma libations offered in the three sacrifices. He then took the thunderbolt and thereby slayed the eldest of the Ahis.

"4. When you killed the eldest of the Ahis, you destroyed the contrivers. You cleared the sun, the morning and the sky and left no enemies behind.

"5. Indra with his all destructive thunderbolt slayed the darkling Vṛtra (clouds) and lopped his limbs. Ahi now lies touching the earth like the trunk of a tree felled by the axe.

"6. The proud Vṛtra thought that he had no equal and defied the destroyer and conqueror Indra to combat. But he did not escape destruction and Indra's foe fell, crushing the rivers in his fall."

A very remarkable trait in Indra's character is his love for Soma, and he is described as taking large quantities of it, to stimulate himself in his martial deeds. His devotees when invoking his assistance make it a point to offer him first a cup thereof and as the poet says* :—

"And not in vain, the mortal prays
For nothing loth the god obeys
The proffered bowl he takes.
Well trained the generous juice to drain
He quaffs it once, he quaffs again
Till all his thirst he slakes
And soon its power, the Soma shows
Through Indra's vein the influence flows;
With fervour flushed he stands.

* Muir's Original Sanskrit Texts Vol. V. p. 131 (3rd Edition.)

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His forehead glows, his eyes are fired
His mighty frame with force inspired
His towering form expands.
He straightway calls his brave allies
To valourous deeds exhorts and cries
'Stride, Visnu, forward stride
Come Maruts forth with me to war
See yonder Vrtra stands afar
And waits the coming of my car.
We soon shall crush his pride."

Such is the miraculous effect of the drink of Soma on Indra. The Maruts who, as we have mentioned before, are his chief assistants in the battle with Vṛtra are the sons of Rudra and Pṛs'ni. They are divine, bright like sun, pure and blameless. They are decked with glittering ornaments and gold chains are fastened on their chests. They are terrible to behold like kings, they clear up forests like wild elephants and the rocks tremble at their approach. One of their chief functions is to shed rain and as the Vedic poets graphically put it, lightning smiles upon earth when they shower down fatness and streams gush forth from the tyres of their chariot wheels.

Rudra, the father of the Maruts and one of the three gods of the later Hindu Triad has in the Ṛgveda many of those characteristics which are attributed to him in later times. He is the strongest of the strong and attacks like a lion. When he sees some wrong is done, he casts his spear and sends his swift arrows to strike the evil doer; on the other hand, he attends to those who follow the right path and takes care of their interest like a father. A very important hymn relating to him is hymn No. 114 of the first Mandala and it will not be out of place to note it here. It runs :—

We present these prayers to Rudra, the strong, with spirally braided hair ruling over heroes, that there may be

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prosperity to our two footed and four footed creatures, and everything in our village may be well fed and free from disease.

2. Be gracious to us, O Rudra, and cause us happiness; let us with obeisance worship thee, the ruler over heroes. Whatever prosperity our father Manu acquired by worship, may we attain it under thy guidance.

Other deities frequently referred to in the Ṛgveda are the A'svins. They are bright, beautiful, agile, swift as thought and mighty. They are described sometimes as coming from the heavens and sometimes from the air, the earth or the ocean. The time of their appearance is the early dawn 'when darkness still stands among the ruddy cows.' They are the physicians of the gods and a number of stories are told of their restoring the sight to the blind and curing the sick and the maimed. Thus they are said to have restored youth to Chyavana grown decrepit by age and to have restored the eyesight to Ṛjrās'va blinded by his father for killing one hundred and one sheep. They rescued Bhujyu who was abandoned in the midst of an ocean and took him over in a hundred oared ship and when Vis'palā's leg was cut off in battle like the wing of a bird, they gave her an iron one instead.

As to the physical basis of the A'svins, scholars are not agreed. Some are of opinion that they represent the twilight before dawn, half dark, half light while others favor the belief that their natural basis must be the morning star.*

A deity seldom mentioned in later literature but often referred to in the Ṛgveda is Pūsan. He is said to have been given by the gods in marriage to the sun-maiden Sūryā, and is one of the presiding deities at the

* For details, see Vedic Mythology by Macdonell p. 53.

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time of marriage. He wields a golden spear and carries a goad in his hands. His car is drawn by goats and his food is gruel.

Another deity whom we may mention here is Brhaspati also called by the name of Brahmanaspati. 'His character' remarks Prof. Roth, 'is such as does not belong to the earliest stage of the Vedic mythical creation but points to a second shape which the religious consciousness endeavoured to take without being able to fully carry it into effect.' * * * In him, the lord or protector of prayer is seen the power and dignity of devotion, the energetic actions of the will upon the gods, who are the personification of natural objects and immediately upon nature. Born from the greatest light in the highest heaven and mighty in nature, he is said to have blown asunder the darkness with his voice. His essence is sacred truth: he is the avenger of guilt and the slayer of the injurious man. He is also said to open the cow stall in company with Indra and let loose the flood of water enveloped by darkness.

Another deity whose conception marks the transition from the worship of nature to the higher sphere of metaphysics is Aditi. It is the earliest name, invented by the Aryans to express the Infinite—not the Infinite as the result of a long process of abstract reasoning but the visible Infinite, visible by the naked eye, beyond the earth, beyond the clouds, beyond the sky. Generally speaking, she is represented as a personification of the universal, all embracing nature or being, the source and substance of all things celestial and intermediate, divine and human, present and future. Thus we are told in hymn 89th of the first Mandala.

"Aditi is the sky. Aditi is the air; Aditi is the mother and father and son. Aditi is all the gods and the

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five tribes ; Aditi is whatever has been born ; Aditi is whatever shall be born."

She is also called the mother of Mitra and Varuna and the sister of Diti, who probably represents the Earth as distinguished from the Sky.

Besides the above deities, the Ṛgveda refers to various classes of deified objects such as the Gandharvas, Apsarases &c. The Apsarases are consorts of the Gandharvas and are sometimes said to live in the highest heaven and sometimes in water. The Gandharvas represent a very ancient class of beings, being referred to in the Avesta as Gandarewa. In the Ṛgveda, they are frequently mentioned in connection with Soma and are said to be his guardians. In some cases, they too like the Apsarases are described as living in the waters. Their chief Viśvāvasu is further spoken of as a rival of the husband in the first days of wedlock.

Ancient families of priests such as the Atharvans, the Aṅgirases, and the Bhṛgus are frequently ranked among divinities. Thus the Aṅgirases are called sons of heaven and are invoked like gods. The Atharvans are said to have extended the paths and then the sun was produced. The Bhṛgus are described as having found Agni lurking in the waters and they together with the Atharvans and Aṅgirases are in some places, addressed as Soma loving fathers, by the sacrificers.

The most prominent among the deified objects is Soma. Primarily, it is the name of a plant whose juice as we have already seen was the favourite beverage of the Aryans, but its exhilarating effect soon led the Aryans to regard it as a divine power. It is even sometimes compared to the sun, in point of brilliancy and like him, it is said to fill heaven and earth with its rays. It confers

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immortality on its devotees and the gods are said to drink it for becoming immortal. Its true origin and abode are in the heavens but it is sometimes described as living in the mountains or growing thereon. Soma, as is well known, is also the name of the moon in the Vedic literature. The process by which this happened it is difficult to guess. Prof. Macdonell suggests that Soma is continually thought of as celestial and bright and is in some cases said to dispel darkness and swelling in the waters and this might have suggested its comparison with the moon. Another factor, which it is likely, contributed to the same idea is the quality of conferring immortality which Soma is said to possess. This must have led the Aryans to compare it with the cool and refreshing effect which the moon produces and then to identify it with him. As is well known, Soma is often called Amṛta and the moon is regarded as its abode.

We will now conclude this chapter after quoting some of the hymns of the Ṛgveda relating to cosmogony. One of these is hymn No. 121 of the tenth Mandala.

" 1. In the beginning, the Golden Child existed. He was the Lord of all from his birth. He placed this earth and sky in their respective places. Whom shall we worship with offerings?

2. Him who has given life and strength; whose will is obeyed by all the gods, whose shadow is immortality and whose slave is death. Whom shall we worship with offerings?

3. Him who by his power is the sole king of all the living beings that see and move; him who is the Lord of all bipeds and quadrupeds. Whom shall we worship with offerings?

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4. Him by whose power these snowy mountains have been made and whose creations are this earth and its ocean; him whose arms are these quarters of space. Whom shall we worship with offerings?

5. Him who has fixed in their places this sky and earth, him who has established the heavens and the highest heaven; him who has measured the firmament. Whom shall we worship with offerings?

6. Him by whom the sounding sky and earth have been fixed and expanded; him whom the resplendent sky and earth own as Almighty; him by whose support the sun rises and gains its lustre. Whom shall we worship with offerings?

7. Mighty waters pervaded the universe, they held in their womb and gave birth to fire. The one Being who is the life of the gods appeared. Whom shall we worship with offerings?

8. He who by his own prowess controlled the waters which gave birth to energy; he who is the lord above all gods, he was One. Whom shall we worship with offerings?

9. He, the True, who is the creator of this earth, who is the creator of the sky, who is the creator of the glad and mighty waters—may he not do us harm. Whom shall we worship with offerings?

10. O Lord of creatures! None but thee has produced all these created things. May the object with which we worship, be fulfilled. May we acquire wealth and happiness.

The best hymn on the subject is 129.* It runs :—

> Non-being then existed not, nor being
> There was no air, nor heaven which is beyond it
> What motion was there? Where? By whom directed?

* Sanskrit Literature by Macdonell p. 136.

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Was water there and fathomless abysses.
Death then existed not, nor life immortal,
Of neither night nor day was any semblance.
The One breathed calm and windless by self-impulse :
There was not any other thing beyond it.
Darkness at first was covered up by darkness ;
The universe was indistinct and fluid
The empty space that by the void was hidden
That One was by the force of heat engendered.
Desire then at first arose within it,
Desire which was the earliest seed of spirit.
The bond of being in non-being sages
Discovered searching in their hearts with wisdom.
Who knows it truly ? Who can here declare it ?
Whence was it born ? Whence issued this creation ?
And did the gods appear with its production ?
But then who knows from whence it has arisen ?

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CHAPTER VIII.

SOCIAL LIFE.

The social organisation of the Aryans was essentially patriarchal, the head being called the Gṛhapati and associated with him in the management of the household affairs was his wife, the Gṛhapatnī. Every house had its sacred fire and in every house, the sacrificial rites were daily performed and the simple beautiful hymns of the Ṛgveda recited at the time of prayer. Women took an active part in the performance of these household duties and the Ṛgveda gives a pleasant picture of those who assisted the other members of the family at these sacrifices, kept ready the things required on the occasion, extracted the Soma juice and strained it through a woolen strainer.

The necessities of life were of a sort fitted to a people who were mainly leading an agricultural life, the chief things which the Aryan cared to have being a snug comfortable dwelling, a good number of cattle and a train of menial servants drawn from the aboriginal population. He took pride in exhibiting his influence and social status by celebrating a sumptuous sacrificial feast, to which the members of the family and the learned of the land were invited, and occasionally, interesting philosophical discussions took place, at the time, which enlarged his mind and imparted fresh vigour to him in life.

The system of holding sacrifices had by this time made considerable progress and in place of the three classes of priests mentioned in Chaper III, seven classes of them came to exist *viz.*, the Hotṛ, Potṛ, Neṣṭṛ, Agnīdh,

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Praśāstṛ, Adhvaryu and Brahman (II. 1. 2). Of these, the Hotṛ was the chief and it was his duty to sing and in early times, to compose the hymns to be chanted at the sacrifice. ' The Adhvaryu performed the practical work of the sacrifice and accompanied his performance with muttered formulas of prayer and deprecation of evil. His chief assistance was derived from the Agnīdh, the two performing the smaller sacrifices without other help in practical matters. On the other hand, on the occasion of important sacrifices, the Praśāstṛ, Upvaktṛ or Maitrāvaruṇa, as he was variously called, also took part giving instructions to the Hotṛ and entrusted with certain litanies. The remaining priests *viz.*, the Potṛ, Neṣṭṛ and Brahman were connected specially with the ritual of the Soma sacrifice.

Besides these, other priests too are referred to in the Ṛgveda *viz.* the singer of Sāmans or chants, the Udgātṛ and his assistant—the Prastotṛ while the Pratihartṛ though not mentioned must have been known. These together with the Achhāvāka, the Grāvastut, the Unnetṛ and the Subrahmaṇya mentioned in later literature made in all sixteen priests who were technically classed into four groups *viz.* Hotṛ, Maitrāvrauṇa, Achhāvāka, and Grāvastut; Udgātṛ, Prastotṛ, Pratihartṛ and Subrahmaṇya; Adhvaryu, Pratisthātṛ, Neṣṭṛ and Unnetṛ; Brahman, Brāhmaṇāchchhaṁsin, Agnīdh and Potṛ.

In spite of the simple life of the Aryans, it is somewhat strange to find that they frequently ran into debts. The chief cause which contributed to this was certainly their predilection for the game of dice, their extreme love for intoxicating drinks also contributing to the same result. By way of punishment, the debtors were bound to posts by the creditors and in some cases they were made to work as slaves.

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As regards marriage, monogamy was the rule but polygamy was not unknown and there are many passages in the Ṛgveda, referring to the practice. Thus in one hymn, (I 105-8,) a man complains that his ribs press painfully on him all round like rival wives and in another VII. 26-3 it is said that Indra took all the castles of the Dasyus, as one common husband his wives. The marriage of widows was permitted as will appear from the following hymn IX 5-27.

"When a woman has had one husband before and takes another, if they present Ajapanchaudana offering, they shall not be separated.

28. A second husband dwells in the same world with his rewedded wife if he offers the panchaudana &c."

Girls had also some hand in the selection of their husbands for, in one place, it is distinctly stated that "happy is the female who is handsome, she herself chooses her friend among the people."

A full description of the marriage ceremonial is given in hymn 85 of the tenth Maṇḍala. The following are the words addressed by the bridegroom to the bride at the time of the marriage ceremony (verses 36 to 41).

"I grasp thy hand, that I may gain good fortune. That thou mayst reach old age with me thy husband Bhaga, Aryaman, Savitṛr, Puramdhi
The gods have given thee to share my household."*

The next verse contains the blessing pronounced on the newly wedded couple after the bride has arrived at her future home.

"Here abide, be not divided ;
Complete life's whole allotted span
Playing with your sons and grandsons
Rejoicing in your own abode."

* Sanskrit Literature-by Prof. Macdonell p. 124.

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Finally, the bridegroom prays

May all the gods us two unite
May waters now our hearts entwine ;
May Mātaris'van and Dhātri
May Destrī us together join.

The tenth book of the Ṛgveda also contains a description of the funeral ceremonies performed in those times and from this, it appears that though the system of cremation was in vogue in that early period, burial was not uncommon.

The houses of the Aryans were simple. They were kept quite clean and neat and plants bearing fragrant flowers were grown at convenient places. In the central part of the house, a little to the east, a special place was consecrated and here the household sacrifices used to be daily performed, special care being taken to see that it was not defiled. It also contained rooms reserved for the fire place, for the use of the wife and for guests and not only members of the family but cattle and sheep were also accommodated therein.

A very vexed question regarding the Aryans of the Ṛgvedic age is whether the institution of caste existed among them. The basis for the belief that the system existed in the period is furnished by hymn No. 90 of the tenth Maṇḍala translated as follows :—

11. "When they divided Purusa how many portions did they make. What did they call his mouth, his arms? What did they call his thighs and feet?

12. The Brāhmaṇa was a his mouth, of both his arms was the Rājanya made. His thighs became the Vaiśya; from his feet the Śūdra was produced."

* Sanskrit Literature by Macdonell p. 124.

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Commenting upon this, Dr. Haug remarks that these verses prove that the caste system in India is very ancient and existed already in the Vedic age. A more positive proof, he adds, is furnished by the Zend Avesta where also the castes are found, though under different names *viz.*, (1) Athrava-priest (Sk. Atharvan): (2) Rathaēstāo warrior (3) Vāstriyo fshuyās-cultivator and (4) Huitis-workman. He further explains the fact that the names of the four castes are not mentioned in the hymns of the Ṛgveda by observing that as there were no hymns or sacrificial formulas composed for Brāhmaṇa Ksatriyas, or Vaiśyas, the Vedic poets had no opportunity to mention them in the hymns. On the other hand, it may be stated that if the caste system had existed from the earliest times, we would find it mentioned everywhere in the oldest Indian records. Just as the later works are full of allusions to them, so must in that case, the ancient texts also have constantly referred to them, but such is not the case, the Puruṣa Sūkta being the only hymn which takes notice of them. That this hymn is a later addition to the Ṛgveda follows from the fact that its language bears the stamp of later times, making it look more like a set of verses from the Mahābhārata than a hymn of the Ṛgveda. Again, as regards the mention of the four castes in the Zend Avesta, it may be stated that if the Indian and the Iranian classes had a common origin, it is singular that there should be no traces of any similarity in the names by which these classes were permanently denoted, although the Zend and the Sanskrit exhibit so close an affinity in so large a portion of their vocabulary. Lastly, it may be noted that there is an essential difference between the nature of the classes found in the Zend Avesta and in the early Aryan literature for

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while the classes in the former represent nothing more than the groups into which society naturally divides itself, when it attains a settled order, those in the latter are artificial, that is to say, the work of legislation. Thus, it is not possible that the Vaiśya would have imposed upon himself the restriction that he was not to learn and to practise the functions of a priest or not to marry the daughter of a Brāhmaṇa. All this necessarily arose from legislation and from small beginnings continually pushed its inroad further and further.* Evidence is thus conclusive to the effect that the caste system did not exist in the age of the Ṛgveda. In fact, as Mr. Dutt observes† "the very word 'Varṇa' which in later Sanskrit indicates caste is used in the Ṛgveda to distinguish the Aryans and the non-Aryans, and nowhere indicates the separate sections of the Aryan community. The very word 'Ksatriya' which in later Sanskrit means the military class is used in the Veda simply as an adjective, which means strong and is applied to gods (VII 64-2; VII 89-1). The very word 'Vipra' which in later Sanskrit means the priestly caste is used in the Ṛgveda merely as an adjective which means wise and which is applied to gods (VII 11-6) and the very word Brāhmaṇa which in later Sanskrit means the priestly caste is used in a hundred places in the Ṛgveda to imply the composers of hymns and nothing else (VII 103-8)."

Of the favourite pastimes of the Aryans, the one to which they were most addicted was the game of dice. They were generally made of Vibhīdaka nuts, though on special occasions dice made of gold were also used.‡ The

* See Muir's Original Sanskrit Texts. Vol II p. 454 to 466 (3rd Edition.)

† Civilisation in Ancient India by R. C. Dutt Vol I. p. 65.

‡ See Introduction to the S'atapatā Brāhmaṇa by Prof. Eggeling (S. B. E. Series).

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number used in playing varied considerably for while from a reference to the game in some places, it appears that they were not more than four, there are other references, where fifty-three and even one hundred and fifty dice are mentioned. Details of the method of playing the game are wanting* but from the description given in later works, it appears that the game of dice formed a part of the sacrificial ceremony connected with the establishment of sacred fire and that at least in that case, the mode of playing was for a number of players to go along the streets of a town or village taking a cow belonging to the sacrificer and making the cow the stake, they used to play in batches with those who deposited grain as their stake. Each player used to throw on the ground a hundred or more cowries or shells and when the number of cowries thus cast and fallen with their face upwards or downwards as agreed upon, was exactly divisible by four, the sacrificer was declared to have won but otherwise, he was defeated.

When playing for the sake of sport, the players used to gamble and we have a vivid picture of the miseries of the gambler in the tenth Maṇḍala of the Ṛgveda. It begins with a description of the pleasure the gambler feels in the play and he says †

> "These dice that roll upon the board,
> To me intense delight afford ;
> Sweet Soma juice has not more power
> To lure me in an evil hour."

He then becomes addicted to the vice and in calmer moments tries to shake off its trammels but his efforts are unavailing. As he says,

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* See Gavām Ayana by Shāma Shāstri.

† Metrical Translations from Sanskrit Writers by Dr. Muir p. 190.

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"At times the scorn of every friend
I try my foolish ways to mend
Resolve no more my means to waste
On this infatuated taste.
But all in vain ; when coming near
The rattle of the dice I hear
I rush attracted by their charms
Like lady to her lover's arms."

Like their Greek brethren, the Indo-Aryans took a keen interest in the races of horses and chariots, the races being run on a broad plain whose length was measured and the horses being washed and decorated before they partook in the race. There was often keen competition and the victor was awarded prizes of substantial worth. They were also fond of music which was in some cases accompanied with dancing, as may be inferred from the hymn of Usas where she is compared to an actress skilled in song.

The dress of the Aryans was very simple and consisted in the case of males of a plain sheet worn beneath the loins and of an adhīvāsa or upper garment (Rv. I 140-9 ; 162-16). The dress of the females was more elaborate as may be inferred from the hymns to Uṣas already quoted and from the third hymn of the fourth Maṇḍala where the poet says "This shrine have we made ready for thy coming as the fond dame attires herself for her husband." There are also similar references to well dressed females in the 71st and 107th hymns of the tenth Maṇḍala. We have no reference in the Ṛgveda to clothes made of cotton and this fact coupled with the mention of sheep and wolves points to the conclusion that the dress was generally made of wool. Clothes made of skin were also used but they were generally worn only by ascetics.

Ornaments were frequently used for decoration and gods such as the Maruts and the Aśvins are in many a

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hymn described as wearing them. Horses given away in gift were also decorated with pearls and gold.

The Aryans used to take great care of their hair and it was worn either plain or in braids or plaits. The females arranged it in more plaits than one and a maiden with four plaits is referred to in the Ṛgveda (X 114-3).

Their food consisted chiefly of things prepared from various sorts of grain, which were either parched or made into cakes after being ground to flour between mill stones and taken with milk or butter. In addition to this, fruits and vegetables also formed a part of their diet.

Animal food was freely taken by the Aryans of the Ṛgvedic age, beef being not excluded. "The idea of beef as an article of food" says Dr. Rājendralāl Mitra* "is so shocking to the Hindus that thousands over thousands of the more orthodox among them never repeat the counterpart of the word in the vernaculars and many and dire have been the sanguinary conflicts which the shedding of the blood of the cows has caused in this country. And yet it would seem that there was a time when not only no compunctious visiting of conscience had a place in the mind of the people, in slaughtering cattle, when not only was it a mark of generous hospitality—as among the ancient Jews—to slaughter the fatted calf in honour of respected guests but when a supply of beef was deemed an absolute necessity by pious Hindus in their journey from this to another world, and a cow was invariably killed to be burnt with the dead." The Vedas also enjoin a ceremony called Gomedha or the sacrifice of cattle, though with regard to this, the opinion of the orthodox

* The Indo—Aryans by Rājendrālal Mitra, Vol. I p. 354.

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Hindu writers is that the ceremony was only emblematical and did not involve the actual slaughter of cows.

The favourite beverage of the Aryans was surā (wine), and the juice of the Soma plant, the Haoma of the Persians. Of these, the latter which was obtained by pressing the leaves of the plant with stone and filtering the juice through a woolen strainer was very popular. As has been well observed* the Aryans whose whole religion was a worship of the wonderful powers of nature had no sooner perceived that the liquid had power to elevate the spirits and produce a temporary frenzy, under the influence of which the individual was prompted to and capable of deeds beyond his powers, than they found in it something divine. It was to their apprehension a god endowing those into whom it entered with godlike powers; the plant which afforded it became to them the king of plants; the process of preparing it was a holy sacrifice. Its sight cheered up their spirits, its scent inspired them, its touch thrilled them and the sound which it made when powdered enlivened them. The whole of the ninth book of the Ṛgveda is devoted to its praise and the Ṛsis overlay the subject with chaotic imagery and mystical fancies of almost infinite variety."

So far we have depicted the life of the Aryan in his home. We will next say a few words about the Aryan in the field of battle. His dress at that time consisted of a helmet on his head and his body was protected by a corselet consisting of many pieces fitted together (Rv. I. 31-15) and made either of metal plates or as is more likely, of some stiff material, plaited with metal. His chief weapon was the bow made of wood, bone or metal, wood being the most common and it consisted of the shaft

* Prof. Whitney in the Journal of the American Oriental Society. iii 299

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(Śalya), the feather socket (Parṅadhi), the point (Śṛṅga) and the neck of the point in which the shaft was fixed (Kulmala). There is also a distinct reference to poisoned arrows with the head of horn in Rv. 75-15. Other weapons mentioned in the Ṛgveda are swords, spears and lances. The hook and the axe are also referred to but generally not in connection with the combats of mortals but of divine beings. A peculiar instrument used by Indra is the net with which he is said to envelope the array of the Dasyus.

The leader of the army generally used to fight from a chariot. It was made of wood and drawn by two horses though in one place, a car drawn by one horse is also mentioned. Like the ancient Roman chariot, which had large scythe-like blades projecting from the axles, the wheels were armed with iron weapons rendering approach to the car dangerous. The chariot for ordinary use differed somewhat from this and was so constructed as to admit of three benches being placed therein with a view to accomodate a large number of passengers; special care was taken in the matter of their embellishment and the horses too were richly caparisoned. We quote here verses 6 to 8 of the 75th hymn of the sixth book giving a graphic description of the chariot and the charioteer.

"6. Upstanding in the car, the skilful charioteer guides his strong horses on whithersoever he will.

See and admire the strength of those controlling reins which from behind declare the will of him who drives.

7. Horses whose hoofs rain dust are neighing loudly, yoked to the chariots, showing forth their vigour.

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With their forefeet descending on the foemen, they never flinching trample and destroy them.

8. Car bearer is the name of his oblation, whereon are laid his weapons and his armour.

So let us here each day that passes honour the helpful car with hearts exceeding joyful.*

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* The hymns of the Rgveda translated by Griffiths Vol. I, p. 646.

CHAPTER IX.

TRADES AND PROFESSIONS.

From the brief review of the social life of the Aryans given in the previous chapter, it will appear that the life of the Aryans of the Ṛgveda was characterised by extreme simplicity and was not fettered by those restrictions which grew up in later times. For instance the institution of caste was unknown, the remarriage of widows was allowed, and polygamy was still in vogue. Profession was not hereditary and the Aryan, who in times of war, took the battle-field settled down in times of peace as a husbandman, a shepherd, or an artizan.

Their chief source of livelihood was agriculture, and this explains the anxiety with which rains were awaited and the fervour with which Indra was invoked. The art of irrigation by means of wells and artificial channels was however not unknown, the water in the former case being raised by a wheel of stone to which a pail was attached (Rv. X 101.7 and VIII 69.12). Fields were also measured (Rv. I. 110.5) and uncultivated strips of lands kept between them—facts which conclusively establish that the ownership of the land was that of the individual and not of the community.

They used to take special care of their cattle and were as anxious for them as for any other possession of theirs. Pūsan was the god invoked for the purpose and was held in great esteem like Indra. We quote below a hymn in which they are both invoked together :—

1. Let us invoke Indra and Pūsan to be our friends, to bless us and to grant us food.

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2. Of these two gods, the one comes to drink the Soma poured out from the ladles and the other (Pūsan) desires meal and butter.
3. Goats convey the one and the two harnessed brown horses the other; borne by them, he seeks to slay his enemies.*

Another hymn addressed to Pūsan runs :—

5. May Pūsan follow our kine; may he protect our horses; may he give us food.
6. Pūṣan, follow the kine of the worshipper who offers Soma libations and of us when we do the same.
7. Let nothing be lost, or injured or fall into a pit: but come to us with the cows all safe.
8. We seek after Pūṣan who bears us, the alert who never loses his property, who is the lord of wealth.†

Among the other arts known to the Aryans, weaving occupied a prominent place, and allusions to it are therefore frequent. For instance, in one verse, night is described as "enwrapping the extended world like a woman wearing a garment," while in an Āprī hymn night and day are said to interweave, in concert like two female weavers, the extended thread to complete the web of the sacrifice.' The art of sizing was known for in one place, Trita says, "cares consume me Śatakratu, although thy worshipper as a rat gnaws (a weaver's) thread" and this probably points to the practice of threads being sized with rice water; otherwise they would not be palatable to rats. It will further appear from the passages quoted above that the art of weaving was a home industry generally confined to females.

* Original Sanskrit Texts by Dr. Muir p. 179 (3rd Edition).
† Muir's Original Sanskrit Texts Vol. 5, p. 177 (3rd Edition).

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An interesting question relating to the Aryans of the Ṛgveda is how far they had progressed in the matter of maritime activity. Information on the point is scanty but the few references to it which we meet with establish that they had made considerable progress in it. Thus in one place, we have a reference to persons pressing earnestly on board a ship for the sake of gain and in another place, to Bhujyu whom the Aśvins helped to return home when his ship foundered in the ocean 'where there was nothing to give support, nothing to rest upon, and nothing to cling to.' The Ṛgveda also frequently speaks of the Paṇis and describes them as rich people who presented no offering to the gods and bestowed no gift on their priests. It is however difficult to say exactly who the Paṇis were. According to Roth, the word is derived from 'Paṇ' to barter and means a man who gives nothing without a return, that is, a niggard. Ludwig is however of opinion that the Paṇis were probably aboriginal traders who went in caravans and were prepared to fight if necessary.

The ships that were used by the Aryans were presumably large for Bhujyu referred to above is mentioned to have been rescued by the Aśvins in a ship propelled by one hundred oars (I. 116). In the preceding part of the same hymn, it is further described to be an animated water tight ship, and in another hymn, 1.182.5, it is said to be animated and winged. There is also a distinct reference to sea going ships in VII. 88.3 and they are said to ride over the ridges of the water and to swing to and fro. It is no doubt strange to find that in spite of these clear facts, there are scholars who hold that navigation was in the Ṛgvedic times limited to the crossing of rivers on the ground that there is no mention in the Ṛgveda of anchor, mast, or sail.

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The professions referred to in the Ṛgveda are those of the priest, the physician, the carpenter and the goldsmith (Rv. X. 172). From the way in which the physician is mentioned, it appears that they had already acquired a considerable knowledge of medicine and if we interprete certain acts ascribed to the Aśvins not as miracles but as acts actually performed by their worshippers and ascribed to their favour, it would seem that they were able to substitute an iron leg in place of the natural one and to restore the eye-sight.

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CHAPTER X.

THE ṚGVEDA.

Before concluding our account of the history of the Aryans in the Rgvedic age, it appears necessary to say a few words regarding the Ṛgveda—the source from which the account given in the previous pages has been compiled. Though according to the common belief, all the four Vedas date from eternity, scholars are agreed that the Ṛgveda is of all the four the oldest and that while the Sāmaveda, the Yajurveda and the Atharvaveda are evidently the production of a period when the sacrificial system was completely organised, the Ṛgveda belongs to a period anterior thereto. As regards the date of the hymns, opinion considerably varies. Prof. Max Muller divided the Vedic literature into four periods *viz.* the period of the the Chhandas, the Mantras, the Brāhmaṇas and the Sūtras, and as the Sūtra period was prior to the spread of Buddhism in the fourth century before Christ, the learned savant by assigning two hundred years to each, placed the period of the Chhandas from 1000 to 1200 B. C. Dr. Haug, on the other hand, places the commencement of the Vedic literature from B. C. 2400 to 2000, by assigning 500 years to each of the above periods, on the analogy of similar periods in the Chinese literature. A still earlier date is assigned by Prof. Jacobi of Bonn on astronomical grounds, the period according to him going back to 4000 B. C. Finally, we have the opinion of Mr. Tilak according to whom some of the hymns are earlier than B. C. 8000.

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It will thus be seen that there is a great divergence of opinion among eminent scholars as to the date of the composition of the hymns. Prof. Max Muller's estimate of the antiquity of the Vedas has however now been proved—as he himself apprehended—to be below the mark for among the inscriptions discovered by Hugo Winckler, there is one dated about 1400 B. C. containing the terms of the treaty between Subbiluliuma, king of the Hittites and Mattiuaza, king of Mitani, wherein the deities of both the tribes are invoked and as among the gods of the latter, we find the names Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra and the Nāsatyas or Aśvins, it may be safely concluded that the formation of the Vedic pantheon and of the hymns wherein they are mentioned was completed before the 14th century of the Christian era.

We will next attempt to see if it is possible to offer a reasonable explanation about the difference between the dates assigned by Dr. Haug and Prof. Jacobi and that assigned by Mr. Tilak. It arises chiefly from the fact that the hymns of the Ṛgveda were not composed at one and the same time nor by a single man but by different Ṛṣis, some of whom were separated from each other by generations, so that when these hymns are grouped together in accordance with their priority, they fall into five distinct strata. A very decisive argument in favour of the view is furnished by the Brāhmanic tradition as embodied in the Anukramaṇī which assigns certain hymns to Ṛṣis who stand to each other in the relation of grandfather, father, son or grandson. Besides this, other evidence also points to the same conclusion. Thus we often meet with the expression "as our ancestors have praised thee, we will praise thee" in the hymns of the Ṛgveda. Again, in a hymn addressed by Viśvāmitra to Agni, he observes

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"I have proclaimed, O Agni these thy ancient songs and new songs for those who are old. These great libations have been made to him who showers benefit upon us. The sacred fire has been kept from generation to generation." A still more explicit reference is found in Rv. III 1, 20 where the same Ṛṣi speaks of Indra as having been magnified by the ancient, middle and modern songs.

These facts clearly show that the hymns, as we now have them, are not the production of a single generation but of several. Another fact bearing on the question is that out of the ten Maṇḍalas into which the Ṛgveda is divided, the Maṇḍalas II to VII which are ascribed to Ṛṣis called the Mādhyamas are the more ancient and that the first Maṇḍala called the book of the Śatarchins—from the fact that each poet contributed about a hundred verses-and Maṇḍalas VIII to X have been subsequently added. Of these again, the tenth Maṇḍala is the latest as may be inferred from the fact that it treats of a number of subjects such as cosmogony, philosophy, spells, incantations, wedding rites and burial ceremonies which are not treated in any other Maṇḍala, and we find therein, the earlier gods losing their hold over the imagination of the people and new abstract deities such as Wrath and Faith taking their place.

Lastly, it may be noted that there are a few hymns called the Khilas added generally to the end of a chapter. They have, in fact, only been ascertained to be imitations of the genuine songs but they soon acquired a certain reputation, found their way into the Saṁhitās of the other Vedas, are referred to in the Brāhmaṇas and though they are not counted in the Anukramaṇīs together with the original hymns, they are mentioned as recognised additions.

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All these facts if considered together justify us in concluding that the interval between the earliest and the latest hymns forming the Ṛgvedā Saṁhitā is very great. In this connection, it should also be borne in mind that in the works of the Sūtra period generally placed between 600 to 200 B. C. not only the Ṛgveda but the three later Vedas were already looked upon as existing from eternity and even if we were to concede for the sake of argument that the Indian mind had but a feeble grasp of facts relating to chronology and that it was not able to draw a clear distinction between fact and fancy, it is impossible that the authors of these learned works should have regarded things within their memory as dating from times immemorial. Looking at the matter from this standpoint too, it would appear that the date generally assigned to the Ṛgveda is much below the mark.

The hymns of the Ṛgveda Saṁhitā thus form the oldest literary composition extant and are the source from which all subsequent literature of the Indo-Aryans has derived its inspiration. The Sāmaveda Saṁhitā for instance although held in great esteem as evidenced by the Bhagvadgītā contains hardly any independent matter, all its verses except twenty-five being taken directly from the Ṛgveda. So also of the Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā, one fourth is derived from the Ṛgveda and of the 6000 stanzas of the Atharvaveda, 1200 are taken from it.

The importance of the Ṛgveda thus increased considerably with the progress of time and it became necessary to take steps to preserve its text from corruption and interpolation. The work was first undertaken by Śaunaka who prepared an index of all important subjects connected therewith, viz. one index of the poets, one of the metres, one of the deities, one of the Anuvākas and one of the

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hymns. A 'Sarvānukramaṇī' or a general index was then prepared by Kātyāyana and the final step was taken to preserve, in tact, the text of the great Veda.

From these works, we learn that the Śākala Śākhā of the Ṛgveda consisted of 10 Maṇḍalas or 64 Adhyāyas as per details given below :—

	Maṇḍala		Anuvākas		Hymns
The	1st	contains	24	and	191
	2nd	„	4	„	43
	3rd	„	5	„	62
	4th	„	5	„	58
	5th	„	6	„	87
	6th	„	6	„	75
	7th	„	6	„	104
	8th	„	10	„	92
			(+ 11 supplementary)		
	9th	„	7	„	114
	10th	„	12	„	191

the ten Maṇḍalas having 85 Anuvākas and 1017 + 11 supplementary hymns.

Śaunaka also gives a list of verses arranged according to the metres, their distribution being as follows :—

Gāyatrī	2451	Aṣṭi	6
Uṣṇih	341	Atyaṣṭi	84
Anuṣṭubh	855	Dhṛti	2
Bṛhatī	181	Atidhṛti	1
Paṅkti	312	Ekapadā	6
Triṣṭubh	4253	Dvipadā	17
Atijagatī	17	Pragāthabārhata	194
Jagatī	1348	Kākubha	55
Śakvarī	26	Mahābārhata	251
Atiśakvarī	9		
	9793		616

Total 10409.

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The number of Pādas or words in the Ṛgveda is 153, 826 and the number of syllables 432,000.

Of the commentaries on the Ṛgveda, the earliest is that of Yāska known as the Nirukta. Its object is to explain the meaning of many phrases whose sense had become obscure or unintelligible or about which contrary opinions were entertained, by collecting together specially obsolete words and synonyms, which by their very arrangement explained themselves. Yāska himself had five such works before him, of which the first three contained groups of synonyms, the fourth specially difficult words and the fifth a classification of the Vedic gods. He embodied these in his work which consists of twelve books to which two were subsequently added.

Another well known commentary on the Ṛgveda is that of Sāyaṇa who flourished considerably later, that is, about the middle of the fourteenth century and wrote his works under the patronage of Bukka I (1350-79) and his successor Harihara (1379-99). Besides the commentary on the Ṛgveda, Sāyaṇa has written equally valuable commentaries on the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and Āraṇyaka, as well as on the Taittirīya Saṁhitā, Brāhmaṇa and Āraṇyaka

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BOOK II.

THE ARYAN EXPANSION.

PART I.

CHAPTER I.

THE SOLAR DYNASTY.

We have now placed before our readers a brief sketch of the Aryan conquest as portrayed in the earliest book of the Aryans—the Ṛgveda—and have also described in brief the leading features of their religious and social institutions. The Punjab formed the first scene of their activity but as might be expected, it was impossible that they would confine themselves within its limits and we find them gradually expanding eastwards and southwards from this central basis.

A question that has, of late, been much discussed is whether the Aryans who came and settled in the country watered by the Ganges and the Yamunā were different from the Aryans who were established in the Punjab. It was first started by Dr. Hoernle who is of opinion that after the first swarm of Indo—Aryans had occupied the Punjab, a second wave of Aryans impelled by some ethnic upheaval or driven forward by change made their way into India, through Gilgit and Chitral, and after forcing the first immigrants in three directions viz. to the east, to the south and to the west established themselves in the plains of the Ganges and the Yamunā, the sacred midland or Madhyadeśa of Vedic traditions. Here they came in contact with the original inhabitants of the soil and as

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the rugged nature of the route by which they travelled prevented their taking their own women with them, they intermarried with those of the original inhabitants, and thus became the remote ancestors of the Aryo-Dravidians of to-day. This theory has been strongly supported by Dr. Grierson and Sir H. Risley on linguistic and ethnographic grounds. According to Dr. Grierson, the modern Sanskritic Indo-Aryan languages fall into two main families, one spoken in a compact tract of country almost exactly corresponding to the above Madhyadeśa and the other surrounding it in three quarters of a circle commencing in Kashmere and running through Western Punjab, Sindh, the Maratha country, Central India, Orissa, Bengal, Behar and Assam,—Gujrat being the only tract where the inner family has burst through the retaining wall of the outer one.* The ethnographic evidence is to the same effect, for as observed by Sir H. Risley, the type of people residing in the Punjab and Rajputānā and represented by the Jāts and the Rajputs is marked by all the characteristics of the Aryan type, viz. a relatively long (dolicho-cephalic) head, a straight finely cut (leptorrhine) nose, a long symmetrically narrow face, a well developed forehead, regular features and a high facial angle, the stature being high and the general build of the figure well proportioned. On the other hand, the type of the people now dwelling in the middle land, is precisely what might have been expected to result from the incursions of a fair long headed race into a land peopled by a dark-skinned race, the men of the stronger race taking to themselves the women of the weaker."

" It may be said " he observes† " that the theory of a second wave of Aryans resting as it does on the somewhat

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* Article on Language, Census of India 1901 p. 299.

† The People of India. page 54.

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uncertain data of philology is not really required for the purpose of explaining the facts and that we may content ourselves by assuming that the original Aryans outgrew their settlements on the Indus and threw out swarms of emigrants who passed down the Ganges valley modifying their type as they went by alliance with the Dravidian inhabitants. But on this view of the problem, it is difficult to account for the marked divergence of type that distinguishes the people of the eastern Punjab from the people of Western Hindostan. If there had been no second and distinct incursion coming in like a wedge beyond the original colonists, no such sharp contrast would now be discernible. One type would melt into another by imperceptible gradation and scientific observations and popular impressions would not concur as they do, in affirming that a marked change takes somewhere about the longitude of Sirhind."

Learned as these arguments are, we must hesitate to accept them as conclusive until there is a fuller discussion of the subject and greater uniformity of opinion* regarding the weight to be attached to conclusions arrived at from philological and ethnographical data. We will therefore leave the subject here and will proceed to give details about the settlement of the Aryans in the country to the east and south-east of Punjab.

The work was not accomplished by a single tribe but by a number of them acting independently of one another. Nor was it easily accomplished for in some cases, mighty rivers checked their progress and made them halt. In other places, dense forests which it was impossible to penetrate rendered their attempts to advance fruitless; some lands were so marshy that to inhabit them was to

* For an adverse criticism of these views, see Modern Review (1911)—Article. "Anthropometry and Race."

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court disease. Now and then, the original inhabitants of the soil used to offer strong resistance but the Aryans overcame all these difficulties and succeeded at last in establishing their sway over the whole of Northern India.

Of the various dynasties which thus extended and consolidated the Aryan dominion in India, the most well-known is the Solar dynasty which ruled at Ayodhyā. Its origin is thus described in Book IV of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa.

" Before (the evolution of) the mundane egg, existed Brahmā who was Hiraṇyagarbha, the form of (that supreme) Brahma which consists of Viṣṇu as identical with the Ṛg, Yajur and Sāma (Vedas), the primeval uncreated cause of all worlds. From the right thumb of Brahmā was born the patriarch Dakṣa ; his daughter was Aditi who was the mother of the Sun. The Manu (Vaivasvata) was the son of the celestial luminary and his sons were Ikṣvāku, Dhṛṣṭa, Śaryāti, Nariṣyanta, Prāṁśu, Nābhāga Nediṣṭha, Karūṣa and Pṛṣadhra."

Ikṣvāku had a hundred sons of whom Vikukṣi, Nimi and Daṇḍa are specially mentioned. Of these, Vikukṣi, surnamed Śaśāda or the hare—eater on account of his having eaten a hare which was intended to be offered as a sacrifice was the ancestor of the Solar line. He was succeeded by his son Puranjaya and during his reign, a war broke out between the Devas and the Asuras in which the Devas were at first vanquished by the latter. They however implored Puranjaya to help them with the result that the Asuras were in the end annihilated. It is said that he used to ride on a bull and this earned for him the title of Kakutstha, that is to say ' seated on the hump.' The war is said to have taken place in the Tretā age.

The reigns of his next five successors, were uneventful but in the reign of the sixth successor from him known as

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Śrāvasta, the city of Śrāvastī was founded. He was succeeded by his son Bṛhadaśva. During his time, a fresh war broke out, between him and Dhundhu, a leader of the Asuras. The king proceeded to repel him with an army of twenty-one thousand persons but they with the exception of three of his sons were all consumed by the fiery breath of Dhundhu. Ultimately, however the Asura was defeated and this earned for the king the title of Dhundhumāra.

The next important ruler of the dynasty was Māndhātṛ, the son of Yuvanāśva. It is stated that he was born from the right side of his father, owing to the latter having drunk by mistake water which was meant for his queen and which had been consecrated and endowed with prolific efficacy by sacred texts. This mode of birth being extraordinary, the question naturally arose as to the way in which the child should be nursed but Indra solved the difficulty by undertaking to do so (mām ayam dhāsyati) and he was therefore called Māndhātṛ. As he grew up he became a mighty monarch and is said to have reduced the seven continental zones under his dominion.

Māndhātṛ married Bindumatī the daughter of Śaśabindu and had by her three sons, Purukutsa, Ambarīṣa and Muchukunda. Of these Ambarīṣa had a son Yuvanāśva and the latter had a son Harita, the ancestor of the Angirasa Hāritas. The Purāṇas say nothing about Muchukunda but Purukutsa was a great warrior and he was the first king of the Solar dynasty to advance as far as the Narmadā.

The circumstances which led him to turn his attention to this part of the country were that the Gandharvas called Mauneyas after Muni Kaśyapa, having defeated the tribes of the Nāgas, seized upon their most precious jewels

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and usurped their dominion. The Nāgas thereupon resorted to Viṣṇu for help and he advised them to ask Purukutsa to come to their succour. They therefore asked Narmadā to undertake the mission and Purukutsa having consented to help them, went to the spot and after destroying the Gandharvas returned to his place.

Purukutsa was succeeded by his son Trasadasyu and he was followed by a long line of successors none of whom deserve any special notice till we come to Triśaṅku. The Purāṇas say he was reduced to the condition of a Chāṇḍāla because he ate what was not consecrated, disobeyed his father and killed the cow of his preceptor. He was however a great friend of Viśvāmitra and it is said that on Vasiṣṭha, the family priest, refusing to perform his regal inauguration, Viśvāmitra undertook to do so and on his death elevated him to the heavens.

Triśaṅku was succeeded by his son Hariśchandra famous in Hindu annals, as the king who never swerved from the path of righteousness in the most trying circumstances. Of his successors, we have nothing but the names till we come to Bāhu also called Bāhuka. The territory of this unfortunate prince was overrun by the race of the Haihayas and the Tālajaṅghas so that he had to escape to the forests with his family. Here his son Sagara was born whom he put in charge of the Muni Aurva, and the latter imparted to him a knowledge of the Vedas and taught him the use of arms, especially those of fire. As he grew up, he came to know by and by the misfortunes which had befallen his father and stirred to the utmost, vowed vengeance on his enemies, with the result that a violent war soon broke out between him and his father's enemies in which he almost exterminated their whole race. The Purāṇas also give the names of a number

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of other races whom he vanquished. Thus according to the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, he also defeated the Śakas, the Yavanas, the Kāmbojas, the Pāradas and the Pahlavas and according to the Vāyu, the Māhiṣikas, Dārvas, Chaulas, and Khaśas. The Brahma Purāṇa adds to the list the name of the Kolas (the forest races of eastern Gondwana) the Sarpas, and the Keralas and the Harivaṁśa, that of the Tuṣāras or Tokhāras (the Turks of Tokharistan), the Chīnas (the Chinese), the Madras (the people of the Punjab), the Kiṣkindhas (in Mysore), the Bangas (Bengalis), the Śālvas people in Western India and the Konkaṇas. It may however be stated that the Aryans did not come into personal contact with the Greeks till the times of Alexander and the Śakas till the first century of the Christian era, their contact with the Turks of Tokharistan being still later. As according to the Rājāvaliya, Rāma reigned in 2370 B. C. Sagara who preceded him by several generations may be placed not later than 2850 B. C. even according to a very moderate estimate and it is therefore difficult to comprehend how Sagara could have defeated all the races mentioned above. The Aryans probably knew the Kiṣkindhas from very early times but even in their case, there is nothing to show that they were known before the time of Ráma. We may therefore well conclude that the names of these races were interpolated subsequently by later writers, who included in the list, the names of all those races with whom they were familiar but who were regarded by them as beyond the pale of Aryan civilisation.

To resume the thread of our story, Sagara having vanquished his foes and recovered his ancestral kingdom commenced to perform the Aśvamedha in celebration of the event and sent his horse to roam in conformity with

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the rules in that behalf, attended by his 60000 sons. The horse was unfortunately stolen by some person and his sons in their attempt to track him, strayed further and further east from their home and at last perished in the attempt. Sagara thereupon sent Aṁśumat, the son of his son Asamanjas in quest of the horse and he having succeeded in recovering him the celebration of the sacrifice was proceeded with and completed.

It is easy to see that in this legend we have the history of the attempt made by the Aryans to reach the Bay of Bengal—an interpretation which derives considerable support from the Agni Purāṇa which instead of giving all the imagery given above simply states that the sons of Sagara were slain while engaged in excavating the nether regions. * In the reign of Bhagīratha the grandson of Aṁśumat the Aryans attempted to trace the source of the Ganges and though this task too was as arduous as the other, success crowned their efforts in this direction also.

Bhagīratha was succeeded by his son Śruta, also called Viśruta in the Liṅga Purāṇa and the fifth in descent from him was Ṛtuparṇa who was profoundly skilled in dice and was a friend of Nala, the son of Vīrasena and king of Niṣadha. The third successor from him was Saudāsa surnamed 'Mitrasaha' or forbearing towards his friend and 'Kalmāṣapāda' that is, having spotted feet.

The Mahābhārata states (Ādi Parva S. 176) that while he had gone out for hunting, Saudāsa encountered Śaktri, the son of Vasiṣṭha. He asked him to make way but as he did not comply with his request, the king struck the sage with his whip. Enraged at this insult, Śaktri cursed the king to be a cannibal whereupon Viśvāmitra

* Agni Purāṇa by M. N. Dutt Vol. II p. 1005.

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who was on very inimical terms with Vasiṣṭha seized the opportunity to persuade the king to begin by eating Śaktri himself. The king did so and ate up also the other sons of Vasiṣṭha much to the gratification of Viśvāmitra.

The version of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa is somewhat different. According to it, Vasiṣṭha cursed the king because he offered him a dish containing human flesh. The fact however was that Vasiṣṭha had misapprehended facts and the king enraged with his spiritual guide for his hasty action was going to pronounce a curse on him in return but thinking that he had some reason to be angry, he threw the water impregnated with the curse on his feet so that they became spotted and he became known as the king with spotted feet.

Saudāsa was succeeded by his son Aśmaka and the latter by his son Mūlaka. In the reign of Dilīpa, also known as Khatvāṅga a war broke out between the Devas and the Asuras in which, it is stated the Devas succeeded owing to the help they received from the king. The reigns of his descendants upto Daśaratha the father of Rāma were uneventful and we will therefore conclude our account of the Solar dynasty here, treating of the events of Rāma and Daśaratha in Book III.

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CHAPTER II.

THE VIDEHA DYNASTY.

While the Solar race was thus exploring and establishing their sway over the eastern part of India, another descended from Nimi, the younger brother of Śaśāda of the Solar race settled in the country then known as Mithilā, corresponding to the northern portion of modern Behar.

An interesting story is told about Nimi, the founder of the line. It is stated that he once intended to celebrate a sacrifice and asked Vasiṣṭha, the family priest to officiate on the occasion. Vasiṣṭha told him that he was busy elsewhere but promised to come and conduct the sacrifice if he would wait till the other sacrifice was finished. Nimi made no answer whereupon Vasiṣṭha went away thinking that the king had assented. Nimi however was not disposed to postpone the work he had in hand for the convenience of his priest and engaged the services of Gautama for the purpose, so that when Vasiṣṭha returned from his work and saw what had happened he got indignant and pronounced a curse upon the king to the effect that he would cease to exist in a corporeal form. The curse had its effect for the king died and his body was preserved from decay by being embalmed with fragrant oils and resins—a remarkable event which goes to show that the ancient Aryans were not unacquainted with the Egyptian art of embalming dead bodies.

Nimi left no successor and the Ṛṣis therefore agitated the body of the king and produced Janaka who became known as Videha in consequence of his father being without a body (*videha*) and 'Mithi' on account of his being

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produced by *Mathana* or agitation. This event also gave the name to the dynasty (Videha) and to the country they occupied (Mithilā).

Mithilā was not at that time a province with well cultivated lands and a population well advanced in civilisation but was an extensive, marshy jungle, with a very unhealthy climate. The Videhas therefore found it a difficult task to settle in the place and we have a faithful account thereof in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa which is well worth a quotation ' in extenso.' It runs :—

10. Mādhava, the (king of) Videgha carried Agni Vaiśvānara in his mouth. The Ṛṣi Gautama Rahūgaṇa was his family priest. When addressed (by the latter) he made no answer to him fearing lest Agni might fall from his mouth.

11. He, the priest began to invoke the latter with the verses of the Ṛgveda. ' We kindle thee at the sacrifice, O wise Agni, thee, the radiant, the mighty caller to the sacrificial feast (Ṛgveda 5-26-3) O Videgha.

12. He the king did not answer. The priest went on—' Upwards Agni dart thy brilliant shining rays, thy flames, thy beams.' (Ṛgveda VIII 44-16) O, Videgha.

13. Still he did not answer. The priest continued—' Thee O butter sprinkled one we invoke.' (Ṛgveda 5-26-2); so much he uttered when at the very mentioning of butter, Agni Vaiśvānara flashed forth from the king's mouth ; he was unable to hold him back ; he issued from his mouth and fell down on this earth.

14. Mādhava, the Videgha, was at that time on (the river) Sarasvatī. He (Agni) thence went burning along this earth towards the east and Gautama Rahūgaṇa and the Videgha Mādhava followed after him as he was

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burning along. He burnt over (dried up) all these rivers. Now that river which is called Sadānīra flows from the northern (Himālaya) mountain—that one he did not burn over. That one the Brāhmaṇas did not cross in former times, thinking it has not been burnt over by Agni Vaiśvānara.

15. Now-a-days however there are many Brāhmaṇas to the east of it. At that time, it (the land east of the Sadānīra), was very uncultivated, very marshy, because, it had not been tasted by Agni Vaiśvānara.

16. Now-a-days however it is very cultivated, for the Brahmaṇas have caused Agni to taste it through sacrifices. Even in late summer that river, as it were, rages along; so cold it is, not having been burnt over by Agni Vaiśvānara.

17. Mādhava, the Videgha then said to Agni, 'Where am I to abide'? 'To the east of this river be thy abode! said he. Even now this river forms the boundary of the Kośalas, and the Videhas; for these are the Mādhavas (or descendants of Mādhava).*

These paragraphs give us a clear idea of the inhospitable nature of the country, of its unhealthy climate and of the difficulties the Aryans had to face before they settled there. They also show how the Aryans ultimately established themselves in that part of the country after destroying by fire the jungle to the east of the river Sadānīra-identified by Prof. Weber to be the same as the modern Gandak—and brought its land under cultivation. The last of the paragraphs quoted above further furnishes the important information that the river formed the boundary between the country of the Kośalas and the Videhas.

* Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (S. B. E.) Vol. I p. 104-05.

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Janaka was succeeded by a long line of princes (vide Appendix) of whom, the Purāṇas give us nothing but the names till we come to Sīradhvaja, the father of Sītā. As the story of her marriage with Rāma and her subsequent misfortunes will be told in a subsequent chapter, we need not give here the details thereof.

Of the remaining ninety-eight sons of Ikṣvāku, the accounts given in the Purāṇas differ considerably. According to the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, fifty under Śakuni were the protectors of the northern countries and forty-eight, under Vimati according to the Vāyu Purāṇa, were princes of the south. The Bhāgavata however states that of these 100 princes, twenty-five reigned in the west, twenty five in the east and the rest elsewhere, that is to say, in the north and the south. The information in the Matsya Purāṇa varies still more, for, according to it, Ikṣvāku had 114 sons who were kings of the country, south of the Meru mountain and as many who ruled north of it. No details about them are available and it is therefore not possible to say how these differences arose.

As regards the sons of Manu other than Ikṣvāku, no detailed account is available about Nṛga, Nariṣyanta, Prāṁśu and Pṛṣadhra. The third son Dhṛṣṭa is said to be the ancestor of the Dhārṣṭaka Kṣatriyas and Karūṣa, the ninth, of the Kārūṣas. Śaryāti, the fourth was the ancestor of the kings who established themselves in modern Gujarāt, Revata the earliest known ruler of the country being the son of Anarta, the son of Śaryāti. It was then known as Ānarta after Anarta and its capital was Kuśasthalī or Dwārakā. The rule of this dynasty there, was however short lived for in the reign of Raivata, the son of Revata, a race of Rākṣasas named Punyajanas overran

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the whole of his territory, drove the minister and the retinue of the king out of the capital and established themselves in the place. Ānarta was thus lost and it was not regained till some generations after in the time of Kṛṣṇa.

There is a strange and inexplicable confusion in the Purāṇas and other books giving ancient genealogies about Nabhāga and Nediṣṭha. They are said to be one and the same person in some places *e. g.* in the Harivaṁśa and may be identified with Nābhānediṣṭha of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and Nabānazdista of the ancient Persian scriptures. In other places, Nediṣṭha is mentioned as being distinct from Nābhāga and is also called by the name of Diṣṭa or Ariṣṭa. The names given in the genealogical tree are in accordance with the Viṣṇu Purāṇa.

Of the descendants of Nābhāga, Ambarīṣa is the most famous and is well known for his piety. Of the others, little is known, all the information which the Purāṇas give being that though the members of this family were Kṣatriyas by birth, they were called Aṅgirasas or sons of Aṅgiras and were Brāhmaṇas as well as Kṣatriyas. The Bhāgavata explains this by saying that Nābhāga having protracted his period of study beyond the usual age, his brothers divided his share among them and on his claiming it, referred him to their father who advised him to assist the descendants of Aṅgiras in a sacrifice. He obeyed with the result that the Aṅgirasas presented him with all the wealth that was left at its termination. About the territory over which the dynasty ruled, nothing definite is known, though it may be inferred from what the Bhāgavata says about them, that they were ruling somewhere on the banks of the Yamunā.

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More information is available regarding the descendants of Nediṣṭha, the name of as many as thirty three princes of the line having been preserved to us. The first descendant from him was Nābhāga, who, we are told, carried off and married the daughter of a Vaiśya and was therefore degraded to the Vaiśya caste. He was succeeded by his son Bhalandana and the latter by his son Vatsaprī also called Vatsaprīti in the Bhāgavata. His reign as well as that of his seven successors were uneventful but Karandhama, the eighth in descent from him is stated to be a powerful, wealthy and valiant prince. He was succeeded by his son Avikṣit. According to the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, he carried off the daughter of Viśāla, king of Vaidiśa and on being pursued by the relatives of the princess was captured by them but ultimately released by the efforts of his father. He however felt this humiliation so much that he abdicated his throne in favour of his son Marutta.

Marutta is one of the most well known kings of the line and is mentioned both in the Aitareya and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇas as having performed the Rājasūya and the Aśvamedha sacrifices. They were unsurpassed in splendour, all the utensils being of gold. Indra, it is stated, was intoxicated with the libations of Soma juice and the Brāhmaṇas were enraptured with the magnificent donations they received. "The winds of heaven encompassed the rite as guards and the assembled gods attended to behold it."

Marutta was succeeded by his son Nariṣyanta and the latter by his son Dama, who according to the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa married Sumanā, the daughter of the king of Daśārha. The same authority states that he killed Vapuṣmat, in retaliation of his having put to death

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Marutta when he was staying in the woods after relinquishing his crown to his son.

Nothing worth notice is recorded to have happened in the reign of the successors of Dama upto Tṛṇabindu. He had a son named Viśāla, by the celestial nymph Alambuśā, who founded the city of Vaiśālī. Scholars are not agreed as to the identity of the place. Some are of opinion that it is the same as Viśāla, which is another name of Ujjayinī while others are inclined to think that it is the same as Prayāga. The Rāmāyaṇa places it lower down the north bank of the Ganges.

Viśāla was succeeded by his son Hemachandra. Of Somadatta, the fifth in descent from him, it is said that he celebrated ten times the sacrifice of the horse. He was succeeded by his son Janamejaya and the latter by hiss on Sumati also called Pramati with whom the line of Nediṣṭha terminated.

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CHAPTER III.

THE LUNAR DYNASTIES.

So far we have given the history of the dynasties descended from the sons of Manu. We shall next consider the history of the dynasties descended from Ilā, his daughter married to Budha.

And first as regards the ancestry of Budha. He was the son of Soma, the son of Atri, the son of Brahmā, the creator of the Universe. The Purāṇas state that Brahmā having installed Soma as the sovereign of plants, the Brāhmaṇas and the stars, he became inflated with pride and carried off Tārā, the wife of Bṛhaspati, the preceptor of the gods. A deadly conflict thereupon ensued between the gods and the Daityas which was called Tārakā on account of it being waged for the restoration of Tārā. The gods headed by Rudra hurled missiles against the enemy and the Daityas with equal determination assailed the gods. At last, Brahmā interposed and compelled Soma to restore Tārā to Bṛhaspati. This was done and shortly after, she gave birth to a child resplendent with brilliance whom his father called Budha.

Budha had by Ilā, a son named Purūravas. On his attaining kingship he became renowned for his liberality devotion, magnificence and love of truth. He was so handsome in appearance that even the celestial nymph Urvaśī became enamoured of him and stayed with him for a long time. The details of the story are given in the Mahābhārata, the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, the Bhāgavata &c. but as it contains no historical information, it is unnecessary to refer to it in details in this place.

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Purūravas had six sons, Āyus, Dhīmat, Amāvasu, Śatāyus and Śrutāyus. Of these, Āyus was the ancestor of the Yādavas, the Kauravas and the Kāśi kings. We will therefore consider the history of the princes descended from him in a separate chapter. About Dhīmat who is next to him, the Purāṇas give us no information. We therefore come to Amāvasu, from whom some kings well known in ancient Indian history were descended and who is the ancestor of the dynasty which reigned in Kānyakubja.

The first king of the line who may be noted here is Jahnu, the fourth in descent from Amāvasu who married Kāverī the great grand daughter of Yuvanāśva who must evidently be Yuvanāśva II. It is said that when he was performing a sacrifice, the whole of the place was overflowed by the waters of the Ganges, and this enraged him so much that he drank up the whole river. The gods and the sages however implored him to restore her and he at last complied with their wishes so that the river thenceforth became known as Jāhnavī after him.

The next king of the dynasty who may be specially mentioned is Gādhi, the sixth in descent from Jahnu and the father of the famous sage Viśvāmitra. He had also a daughter named Satyavatī who married Ṛchīka of the descendants of Bhṛgu and had by him a son named Jamadagni. As he grew up, he became renowned for his sanctity and for his proficiency in the Vedas and married Reṇukā the daughter of king Prasenajit. She bore to him six sons, of whom the most valiant was Paraśurāma, regarded as the sixth incarnation of Viṣṇu.

The event that has made him famous in Indian history is his vow of extermination of the Kṣatriya race. The facts which led him to do so are briefly as follows :—

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Once upon a time when the sons of Jamadagni were away from the hermitage, Kārtavīrya the mighty monarch of the Haihaya tribe came there and was treated with all hospitality by the wife of Jamadagni. Far from feeling grateful to the family for it, he returned the hospitality by carrying away a calf of the milch cow belonging to him, inspite of strong protests from Jamadagni and pulled down the trees growing near the hermitage. This naturally made Jamadagni indignant and when Paraśurāma returned, he related to him what had happened. Paraśurāma vowed to wreak vengeance for the gratuitous wrong done to his family and setting out with his bow he assaulted Kārtavīrya and put him to death. In retaliation thereof, the sons of Kārtavīrya put Jamadagni to death aud matters became much worse. Paraśurāma swore that he would extirpate the whole race of the Kṣatriyas and began by putting to death all the sons of Kārtavīrya. He then slew every Kṣatriya he encountered so that five large lakes of Samantapanchaka became filled with their blood. He next offered oblations to his father with the water of the lake and gave to the ministering priest an altar of gold which he divided among his fellow brethren and they came to be known as Khāṇḍvāyana Brāhmaṇas on this account. Paraśurāma then returned to the Mahendra mountain and pious Hindus believe that he is still staying in the place.

Paraśurāma left no descendants and the Kānyakubja line ended with the sons of Viśvāmitra of whom the more well-known are Madhuchchhandas, Jaya, Kṛta, Śunaḥśepa, Devadeva, Aṣtaka, Kachchhapa and Hārita. Of these, the story of Śunaḥśepa will be told in Chapter I, Part II; as regards the others, all that is stated is that they founded many families which became known as Kauśikas.

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CHAPTER IV.

THE KĀŚĪ LINE.

Āyus, the eldest son of Purūravas married the daughter of Rāhu,—also called Ārāhu in some places—and had by her five sons, Nahuṣa, Kṣatravṛddha, Rambha, Raji and Anenas. Of these, Kṣatravṛddha was the ancestor of the kings who ruled at Kāśī. He had a son named Suhotra who had three sons Kāśa, Leśa and Gṛtsamada. Gṛtsamada is the most famous of them being the author of several hymns in the second Maṇḍala of the Ṛgveda. Sāyaṇa observes in his commentary on this Veda that though he was formerly the son of Śunahotra of the family of Aṅgirases he was seized by the Asuras and on being rescued by Indra became by his command Gṛtsamada, son of Śunaka in the family of Bhṛgu. On the other hand, it is stated in the Vāyu, the Bhāgavata and the Brahma Purāṇas that Śunaka was the name of his son. There is thus an apparent discrepancy in the statement made by Sāyaṇa and that found in the Purāṇas which it is difficult to reconcile unless we suppose that the persons referred to are different.

Śaunaka, the son of Gṛtsamada is said to have established the four castes and with him the line of Gṛtsamada ended. Kāśa the first son of Kṣatravṛddha had a son named Kāśirāja and his son was Dīrghatamas. The last mentioned had a son named Dhanvantari distinguished for his proficiency in the medical science and for having founded the eightfold system of medical science *viz.*, (1) Śalya, extractions of extraneous bodies (2) Śālākya, treatment of external organic afflictions (3) Chikitsā—diagnosis of

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diseases (4) Bhūtavidyā—treatment of diseases referred to demoniac possession (5) Kaumārabhṛtya—midwifery and management of children (6) Agada—alexipharmacy (7) Rasāyaṇa—chemistry (8) Vājikaraṇa—use of aphrodisiacs.

Dhanvantari had a son named Ketumat and Ketumat a son named Bhīmaratha but nothing special is recorded about them. Important events however happened in the reign of Divodāsa, the son of Bhīmratha, for in his time a war broke out between him and king Bhadraśreṇya of the Yādavas. Bhadraśreṇya was at first victorious and succeeded in capturing Kāśī, the capital of the dynasty but later on, he was defeated by Divodāsa, who put his hundred sons to death. He however spared Durdama who was at that time an infant with the result that when he grew up, he in his turn deprived Divodāsa of his territory and Divodāsa was compelled to build another city in the extreme east of his country at the confluence of the Ganges and the Gomatī. War between the two dynasties still continued and in the meantime, the Rākṣasas taking advantage of the event made a bold dash to capture Kāśī and succeeded in their attempt. According to the Mahābhārata, the dispossession lasted for many generations and it was only in the time of Pratardana, the son of Divodāsa, the son of Sudeva that the Kāśī dynasty succeeded in breaking the power of their opponents. Alarka, the son of Pratardana continued the work his father had begun and after killing the Rākṣasa Kṣemaka succeeded in occupying Kāsi and repopulating the city which was almost deserted owing to the ravages of the Rākṣasas. Alarka was succeeded by his son Sannati and he by a long chain of successors. None of them however attained any distinction and there is moreover a great discrepancy in the lists given by the

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different Purāṇas. It is therefore unnecessary to refer to them here in details.

The next dynasty we will consider is that of the Haihayas, who as we have already seen were engaged in dire conflict first with the Bhārgavas and then with the kings of Kāśi. They were descended from Sahasrajit the eldest son of Nahuṣa. He had a son named Śatajit and he had three sons, Haihaya, Veṇu and Haya. The fourth in descent from Haihaya was Mahiṣmat and he founded the city of Māhiṣmatī on the Narmadā which Col. Tod identifies with Chulī Maheśwar, but which in the opinion of Mr. Pargiter is the modern Māndhātā.

Bhadraśreṇya in whose reign the contest with the Kāśi kings began was the son of Mahiṣmat. He was succeeded by his son Durdama and he, as we have already seen, continued the war begun in the time of his father and succeeded in recovering his ancestral possessions.

Durdama was succeeded by his son Dhanaka, the latter by Kṛtavīrya, and the last mentioned by his son Arjuna generally styled 'Arjuna with the thousand arms. He is the most celebrated king of the dynasty and is said to have performed two thousand religious sacrifices. "The very mention of his name" says the Agni Purāṇa* "was enough to hold the thieves and robbers in check. His powerful hand could be perceived everywhere in the realm and a thing left on the road was as much safe as it would have been if kept in a strong room. In the merit of gift, in penances or in the performance of religious sacrifice, in prowess, in learning or wisdom, no king can be reckoned a peer of the redoubtable Kārtavīrya."

* Translation of the Agni Purana by M. N. Dutt p. 1009. Chap. 275.

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The Purāṇas further state that Arjuna was the sovereign of the seven Dvīpas but no details about his conquests are given, the only incident relating to him which the Purāṇas give being that pertaining to Rāvaṇa who it is said came on a tour of triumph to the city of Māhiṣmatī but was taken prisoner by Kārtavīrya, that is Arjuna—the son of Kṛtavīrya and confined like a tame beast in a corner of his capital.*

The great king was at last put to death by Paraśurāma for reasons detailed in the preceding chapter. He left a hundred sons but the names of five only have been handed over to us, the rest having been killed by Paraśurāma, *viz.* Śūrasena, Śūra, Dhṛṣṭa, Madhu and Jayadhvaja. Jayadhvaja had a son named Tālajaṅgha, the ancestor of the Tālajaṅghas, divided into five main branches† *viz.* the Vītihotras, the Avantis, the Bhojas, the Saundikeyas and the Jātas. The Vāyu Purāṇa however does not mention the Bhojas and the Saundikeyas and substitutes in their place, the name of Tuṇḍikeras and Tālajaṅghas. It is difficult to fix the various parts of the country where these people lived but generally speaking, it may be said that they were for the most part settled in Central India and round about. Thus the capital of the Tālajaṅghas was Māhiṣmatī on the Nerbuddah, referred to above. The Tuṇḍikeras and the Vītihotras were settled on the other side of the Vindhya mountains while the Avantis settled in the country then known as Avanti after them, but which is now known as Mālawā, after the Mālavas who displaced them and occupied their country. The Bhojas were most probably settled in the neighbourhood of Dhar.

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* The Agni Purāṇa by M. N. Dutt p. 1009.

† The Agni Purāṇa by M. N. Dutt p, 1009.

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CHAPTER V.

THE YĀDAVAS.

Besides Sahasrajit, Yadu had three other sons *viz.*, Kroṣṭu, Nala and Raghu. Of these, nothing is known about the descendants of the two last mentioned but a very exhaustive list is given of the descendants of Kroṣṭu as Kṛṣṇa the eighth incarnation of Viṣṇu was born in this family.

The first king of the line who may be noted is Śaśabindu, the fifth in descent from Kroṣṭu. He was a "chakravartin" and the lord of the fourteen great gems but unfortunately no details about his conquests or the territory over which he ruled are available. The only other information, the Purāṇas give is that he had a large number of wives and a number of sons among whom the more famous was Pṛthuśravas. The Purāṇas next give the list of descendants from him but we have nothing but their names until we come to the descendants of Parāvṛt, the fifth in descent from Pṛthuśravas. He had five sons of whom Rukmeṣu succeeded his father and the second Pṛthurukma got employed under him. The country of Videha was assigned to the third and the fourth, *viz.* Pālita and Harita. Jyāmagha the fifth was sent to seek his own fortune, and according to the Vāyu Purāṇa, conquered the country along the Nerbuddah, the Mekalá and the Śuktimat mountains with his capital at Śuktimatī.

Jyāmagha was married to Śaibyā to whom the Purāṇas say, he was very subservient. Once it so happened that when he was returning home after defeating an enemy, he beheld a lovely princess in distress. Taking

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compassion on her, he took her with him to his city but the moment his queen saw the new comer, she was wild with rage and inquired who she was. Quite confused, the king answered that she was his daughter-in-law. "I have never had a son" said the queen" "and you have no other children. Of what son of yours then is this girl the wife?" The king replied "She is the young bride of the future son whom thou shalt bring forth."

This conversation between the king and the queen, it is said, took place at an auspicious moment so that the queen although past the time of becoming pregnant gave birth to a son whom his father called Vidarbha.

Vidarbha had three sons, Kratha, Kaiśika and Romāpāda of whom Kaiśika had a son named Chedi, the founder of the Chaidya dynasty. Kratha had a son name Kunti and the latter a son named Dhṛṣṭi whose great grandson Daśārha destroyed 'the host of copper' according to the Liṅga Purāṇa. A long list of persons descended from him is given but nothing important is reported to have occurred in the reign of any of them until we come to Satvata. An account of his reign, we must reserve for Book III as he flourished in the third period.

Of the other sons of Yayāti, the Viṣṇu Purāṇa gives the names of the descendants of Turvasu upto the fifth generation and adds that the last of them adopted Duśyanta of the family of Pūru so that his line merged into that of the latter prince. The account thereof as given in the Agni Purāṇa however differs considerably for it has Duśmanta instead of Duśyanta and instead of making Turvasu's line end with him, it goes on to give the names of the descendants of Duśmanta *viz.* Varuttha and Āndīra. Of these Āndīra had, according to the Vāyu, the Matsya and the Brahma Purāṇas four sons, Kerala,

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Pāṇḍya, Chola and Karṇāṭa and they founded the kingdoms called after them in the Deccan. It may however be stated that Yayāti is said to have allotted the south-eastern portion of his territory to Turvasu and that under the circumstance, the country in the possession of the descendants of Turvasu properly speaking would be the modern Arakan and Ava. The only way to reconcile these conflicting statements is to suppose that originally the Aryans were in possession of these countries, but they were lost subsequently and the country of the Keralas, the Cholas, the Pāṇḍyas and the Karṇāṭas was gained, so that when the Pūraṇas were finally recast their composers substituted the names of these countries for those of Arakan and Ava.

Druhyu, the third son of Yayāti had a son named Babhru and he had a son named Setu. His son was Āradvat, the country occupied by him being called Āraṭṭa after him. He was succeeded by his son Gāndhāra. Opinion is not unanimous as to the exact location of these countries but Gāndhāra is generally believed to be the same as the modern Kandahar and this view derives considerable support from the fact that in the Vāyu Purāṇa, Gāndhāra is said to be a large country famous for its horses a characteristic which is true of the country even now. So also Āraṭṭa is supposed by Dr. Wilson to be the same as Aratrī of Arrian. The line of Druhyu terminated with the hundred sons of Prachetas, and the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, the Bhāgavata and the Matsya agree in saying that generally speaking they ruled over the barbarians of the north. The account as given in the Mahābhārata however varies to some extent and it observes that from them were descended the Vaibhojas, a people unacquainted with the use of cars or beasts of burden and who used to travel on rafts.

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We now come to the descendants of Anu, the fourth son of Yayāti. The two princes of the line who may be specially mentioned are Uśīnara, and Titikṣu, the eighth in descent from Anu. Of these, Uśinara had four sons, Śibi, Nṛga, Nara, Kṛmi and Vrata, each of whom was the leader of a tribe. Thus Śibi was the ancestor of the Śaibas Nṛga of the Yaudheyas, Nara of the Navarāṣṭras and Vraṭa of the Ambaṣṭhas while Kṛmi founded the city Kṛmilā. Śibi again had four sons, Vṛṣadarbha Suvīra, Kaikeya and Madraka and they gave their names to the countries called after them, in the west and the north-west of India.

Titikṣu the brother of Uśinara had a son named Uṣadratha and the third in descent from him was Bali. The Purāṇas state that Dīrghatamas begot on his wife Aṅga, Baṅga, Kaliṅga, Suhma ond Puṇḍra and the five countries they occupied became known by their names. Aṅga had a son named Pāra and the fourth in descent from him was Romapāda, to whom Daśaratha, the son of Aja gave his daughter Śāntā in adoption. She gave birth to a son named Chaturaṅga and his grandson Champa founded the city of Champā, of which traces still remain in the vicinity of Bhagalpur.

Of Pūru, the youngest son of Yayāti, we have an interesting legend in the Purāṇas where it is stated that Yayāti having become old and infirm before his time through the curse of his father-in-law—Uśanas, thought of transferring his decrepitude to his sons. He first requested Yadu but the latter was not inclined to agree. He then turned to his other sons, Turvasu, Anu and Druhyu but they too were unwilling. Lastly, he asked

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Pūru to do so and he gladly accepted the offer and thanked him for it.

Yayāti being thus restored to his youth became once more immersed in its pleasures and began to pass his time wholly in the company of the celestial nymph Viśvāchī. Many years thus passed away when he at last felt that there was no end to sensual pleasures and that desire was not appeased by enjoyment but only became the more intense like fire fed with sacrificial oil. He therefore restored his youth to Pūru and in return for Pūru's generous nature, made him the sovereign of his kingdom and appointed his elder brothers to act as viceroys under him in the different parts of his kingdom.

Pūru was succeeded by his son Janamejaya. He was succeeded by his son Prachinvat and others but nothing particular is recorded of any of them until we come to Rantināra, also called Matināra in some places. He had a daughter Gaurī who was married to a prince of the Ikṣvāku family and became the mother of Māndhātṛ. He had besides three sons, Taṁsu, Apratiratha, and Dhruva, of whom Apratiratha had a son named Kaṇva the ancestor of the Kāṇvāyana Brāhmaṇas. He is frequently referred to in the Ṛgveda and his son Medhātithi is the reputed author of many of its hymns. Taṁsu had a son named Anila and he had four sons of whom Duśyanta, the husband of Śakuntalā was the eldest; Duśyanta was succeeded by his son, the Emperor Bharata.

Bharata had nine sons by different wives but they were put to death by their mothers because he remarked that they bore no semblance to him. He thereupon performed a sacrifice at which the Ṛṣi Bharadvāja officiated and a son was born to him who was called Vitatha, in allusion to the unprofitable birth of his elder

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brothers. He was succeeded by his son Bhavanmanyu, who had many sons of whom the chief were Bṛhatkṣatra and Garga the ancestor of the Gārgyas. The latter had a son Śini, the ancestor of the Śainyas and the former a son named Hastin who founded Hastināpur and had three sons, Ajamīḍha, Dvimīdha and Purumīḍha. As, of these, Ajamīḍha is the founder of the dynasties who ruled in the North and the South Pañchāla countries we will consider his history as well as that of his descendants in a subsequent chapter.

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CHAPTER VI.
CONTEMPORARY KINGS.

We will now recapitulate the leading facts noted in the previous chapters and also try to fix the position of the rulers of the various dynasties who established themselves in India, in their relation to one another.

It will be noted that excepting the Solar line, the dynasties established in these different parts were descended from Yadu, Turvasu, Anu, Druhyu and Pūru,, the five tribes which first came and established themselves in the Punjab. Of these, the descendants of Turvasu have not a good record to show and their line soon merged into that of Pūru. The descendants of Druhyu established themselves near Gāndhāra and ruled over the lawless barbarians of the north, who if we were to attempt to reconcile the account given in the Purāṇas with that in the Mahābhārata were known as Vaibhojas, and were unacquainted with the use of cars or beasts of burden, used to travel on rafts and had no kings. The descendants of Anu have a better story to tell and the sons of Bali, one of his descendants settled in Aṅga, Baṅga, Kaliṅga, Suhma and Puṇḍra. The descendants of Yadu advanced towards what is now Rajputana and one of them Jyāmagha succeeded in establishing his sway over the country along the Nerbuddah. He even extended his sway as far as the modern Berar as may be inferred from his son being called Vidarbha, the ancient name of the country. Again Chedi, the son of Kaiśika descended from him founded the kingdom of Chedi to the north-east of the present Central Provinces while another Bhoja established himself in

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Malwa with his capital at Mṛttikāvatī by the river Parṇāsā. Briefly speaking, their sway thus extended over the whole of modern Rajputana, Gujrat and Central Provinces. Kattyawar was however not subdued and it is possible that it continued to be under the rule of the Rākṣasas, who as mentioned before in Chapter II dispossessed Revata of the Solar dynasty and were all powerful in that part of the country.

Equally remarkable is the career of the other branch of the Yādavas descended from Sahasrajit, the younger brother of Kroṣṭu. It is a question whether all the kings of this line were Yādavas or belonged to some other tribe whose leaders came and defeated the Yādava kings and whose names were therefore put after the names of the king whom they supplanted. One is inclined to hold the latter view chiefly on the ground that the names of these kings are associated with Śakas and other tribes* wellknown to be of foreign origin. The success which accompanied their arms was indeed astonishing, for, as mentioned above, they succeeded in overrunning the whole of the Punjab, the Gangetic plain and the territory of the main branch of the Yādavas in Rajputana and on the Narmadā valley and even compelled the ruling sovereign of the Solar dynasty to flee from his dominions. They also inflicted a crushing defeat on Divodāsa I of the Kāśī dynasty with the result that he had to leave his capital and to build another on the confluence of the Ganges and the Gomatī. Their rule as appears from the list of their kings lasted for a considerable length of time, but at last, Sagara of the Solar dynasty broke their power and Pratardana of the Kāśī line completed their discomfiture so that in the time of Vṛṣṇi, the dynasty disappeared for ever.

* Wilson's Visnu Purāna—Vol. IV, p. 60.

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The descendants of Pūru settled in the country adjacent to modern Delhi and were in possession of the upper half of the present United Provinces, so that when some generations after Hastin, the founder of Hastināpura, the dynasty became divided into three branches *e. g.* the Northern Pañchālas, the Southern Pañchālas and the Pauravas proper, the Northern Pañchālas settled in the country between the Himālaya and the Ganges, the Pauravas in the country round about Hastināpura and the Southern Pañchālas in the country between the Ganges and the Chambal with their capitals at Ahikṣatra and Kāmpilya respectively.

Of the other lines, descended from Purūravas, we have the Kānyakubja dynasty in which the famous Ṛṣi Viśvāmitra was born and the Kāśī line descended from Kṣatravṛdha the brother of Nahuṣa having its capital at Kāśī. The most famous event in the annals of the last mentioned dynasty was their conflict with the Haihayas and their ultimate success against them in the time of Pratardana.

As regards the dynasties descended from the sons of Manu, the most illustrious was the Solar line. Its rulers were the first to advance towards the valley of the Yamunā and the Ganges, to penetrate as far as the eastern ocean and to advance towards the country to the north of the Narmadā. Again, when the Haihayas were overrunning the whole of Northern India, it was Sagara—a prince of this dynasty who first succeeded in stemming the tide. Another noteworthy feature of the dynasty is that it claims the largest number of 'chakravartins' *e. g.* Māndhātṛ, Sagara, Bhagīratha, Ambarīṣa and Dilīpa II.

The Videha line descended from Nimi, the second son of Ikṣvāku had a very peaceful career. The reason is

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plain. It was situated beyond the confines of the territory under the sway of the powerful Solar dynasty and it was thus not possible to attack it without first destroying the power of the Solar kings. The latter kings were on their part not inclined to fight with a peaceful neighbour, and the only time when they would perhaps have been inclined to turn their attention towards it, they had become attached to that dynasty closer than ever by the bonds of matrimonial alliance. Another tribe which had an equally peaceful career was that of the Kośalas who lived in their neighbourhood and were separated from them by the river Sadānīra.

Lastly, we have the dynasty descended from Diṣṭa, another son of Manu. Among its wellknown rulers, we have Marutta the son of Avīkṣit, Tṛṇavindu, the son of Budha and Viśāla, the founder of Vaiśāli.

The territory occupied by the Aryans thus extended from the northernmost part of the Himālayas inhabited by the Uttara Kurus and the Uttara Madras to the Vindhya range in the south and from Kandahāra in the west to the Bay of Bengal in the east. Beyond the confines of Aryan territory—in the south,—the Nīchyas and the Apāchyas, two aboriginal tribes still held their own and occupied the territory now known as Gujrat. Some petty tribes even held their own in the midst of Aryan settlements, *e.g.*, the Niśādas who lived in the vicinity of the Vindhya mountains. So also Patāl which as we have seen was a great maritime port near the delta of the Indus was still in the hands of the Dravidians, with the neighbouring country of modern Baluchistān. The country to the south of the Vindhya range was still unknown although some enterprising Ṛṣis had crossed it and had established settlements there.

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We shall next attempt to ascertain the position of the rulers of these dynasties in their relation to one another. The subject has been dealt with very ably and in details by Mr. Pargiter, in an article on ancient Indian genealogies and chronology in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. We will only touch the question in brief.

The earliest synchronism is that of Yati, the eldest brother of Yayāti who is said in the Brahma Purāṇa, (12-3), the Vāyu Purāṇa (II. 31-14) and the Harivaṁśa (30-1601) to have married Go, daughter of Kakutstha. This Kakutstha evidently is Kakutstha the son of Vikukṣi of the Solar dynasty and Yayāti must therefore be placed one generation below him.

The next synchronism is that of Rantināra of the dynasty of Pūru also called Matināra in some places whose daughter Gaurī was the mother of Māndhāṭṛ of the Solar dynasty. Matināra was thus the senior of Māndhāṭṛ by two generations, and therefore a contemporary of Prasenajit the grand-father of Māndhāṭṛ. Again we are told that Māndhāṭṛ married Bindumatī, daughter of Śāśabindu, who may be identified with Śaśabindu, the son of Chitraratha of the Yādav dynasty. Śaśabindu would thus be a contemporary of Yuvanāśva II, the father of Māndhāṭṛ.

Another synchronism is that of Jahnu, the fourth in descent from Amāvasu, the son of Purūravas who married Kāverī, the great grand-daughter of Yuvanāśva II, according to the Vāyu Purāṇa. Jahnu will thus be three degrees below the latter and may therefore be placed after Purukutsa, the grand-son of Yuvanāśva II.

The story of Triśaṅku's inauguration to the throne of his father mentioned in Chapter I of this book shows that Viśvāmitra and Triśaṅku were contemporaries. It is also

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stated in the Purāṇas and the Mahābhārata that Jamadagni and Viśvāmitra were born at the same time* and Jamadagni too would be a contemporary of Triśaṅku and Viśvāmitra. The story of Śunaḥśepa narrated at length in Chapter VII further establishes that Viśvāmitra was a contemporary of Ajīgarta and Śunaḥśepa, that of Rohita. Lastly, Paraśurāma being the son of Jamadagni will also be their contemporary.

Next we have the story of the feuds of Jamadagni with Arjuna the king of the Haihayas. This establishes synchronisms with Jamadagni and Arjuna and between Paraśurāma, the son of Jamadagni and the sons of Arjuna.

This brings us to the contemporaries of Bhadraśreṇya and his successor. As mentioned before Bhadraśreṇya dispossessed Divodāsa the son of Bhīmaratha of the Kāśī dynasty and though later on, he succeeded in regaining the paternal possessions, he was once more obliged to leave his capital by Durdama the son of Bhadraśreṇya. Divodāsa I should therefore be placed immediately after Bhadraśreṇya and before Durdama. We are further told that the power of the Haihayas was finally broken by Pratardana, the son of Divodāsa. The Purāṇas do not say who this Divodāsa was, and evidently identify him with Divodāsa the son of Bhīmaratha but this could not be, because a number of rulers are mentioned to have ruled after Durdama and one of them was the powerful Kārtavīrya, so that we can only place the fall of the dynasty considerably later. Divodāsa, the father of Pratardana must therefore be placed correspondingly lower and as the Mahābhārata not only mentions, a Divodāsa,

* Viṣṇu Purāṇa IV. 7; The Mahābhārata Vana Parva Chap. 115.

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the son of Sudeva but mentions two other rulers *viz.* Aṣṭāratha and Haryaśva, we may well regard the Divodāsa, the son of Sudeva to be the father of Pratardana as pointed out by Mr. Pargiter* and his position will be one generation above Vṛṣṇi, who was the last king of the Haihayas and whose power Pratardana must evidently have broken. Again, as narrated in Chapter I, king Sagara of Ayodhyā had also dealt a crushing blow to the dynasty and this establishes synchronisms between Vṛṣṇi and Sagara.

Sagara was married to Vaidarbhī whom we must evidently construe to mean the daughter of Vidarbha, the son of Jyāmagha; Vidarbha would thus be one generation before Sagara.

Again, it is stated in the story of Nala and Damayantī that Ṛtuparṇa of the Solar dynasty was a contemporary of Nala. He would thus be one generation below Bhīma, the father-in-law of Nala and as Damayantī is also called Vaidarbhī in the story and therefore evidently belonged to the dynasty founded by Vidarbha, we may identify Bhīma with Bhīmaratha of the Vidarbha line. This also accords well with the position of these two kings in their genealogical lists for Bhīma is the ninth descendant from Vidarbha and Ṛtuparṇa, the tenth from Sagara.

We will next try to fix the position of Duśyanta. As is well known, he married Śakuntalā, apparently, a descendant of the first Viśvāmitra, the son of Gādhi, for if Śakuntalā were to be regarded as the daughter of the latter, Duśyanta would be a contemporary of Rohita and that is impossible because Bharata is said to have three wives who are called Vaidarbhīs that is belonging to the family of Vidarbha, who is much later in the genealogical

* J. R. A. S. 1910, p. 38-39.

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list. Again, Bhavanmanyu, the second in succession from him is said to have married the daughter of Daśārha who is later still. Bhavanmanyu may therefore be placed one generation below Daśārha and Bharata may be placed three generations before him. This indeed leaves a long blank in the Paurava line but it is explained on the ground that during the time, the Pauravas could not have flourished, owing to the supremacy of other potentates such as Śaśavindu of the Yādavas, Arjuna of the Haihayas and Marutta, son of Avīkṣit.

It is also possible to fix the position of Dilīpa II and Somadatta of the Solar and Nediṣṭha's line respectively. Both of them were powerful kings for Dilīpa II is said to have been a 'chakravartin' and Somadatta, to have celebrated the sacrifice of the horse ten times. Again Raghu of the Solar dynasty was also a famous king for Rāma is often called Rāghava after him, and as it is not likely that two powerful rulers could have flourished at the same time, Somadatta may be placed after Dilīpa II and before Raghu.

Lastly, coming to Anu's line, we may notice the fact that Satyavrata of the Solar race married a Kaikeya princess, evidently a daughter of Kaikeya, the descendant of Uśīnara of Anu's line. Kaikeya will thus be one degree above Satyavrata. The stories narrated in the Purāṇas about Dīrghatamas, the son of Uchathya* and Bharadvāja, the son of Bṛhaspati,† the brother of Uchathya further show that Dīrghatamas begat on the wife of Bali, Aṅga and other sons and that Bharadvāja officiated at the sacrifice held by Bharata for the birth of a son, and this makes Aṅga a contemporary of Vitatha, the son born to Bharata, as a result of the sacrifice celebrated by him.

* See Chapter V. † See Chapter V.

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BOOK II.

PART II.

CHAPTER I.

THE SACRIFICIAL SYSTEM.

The history of the civilization of the Aryans during the period whose account we have given in the preceding pages is divisible into two parts *viz.*, the period of the three later Vedas and the period of the Brāhmaṇas. Contrary to what is generally the case, we have better materials for writing this than what we have for writing the political events of the time for, while for the latter, we have to depend upon the meagre details given in the Purāṇas and the Epics, for the former, we have a number of books giving minute particulars *viz.* the three later Vedas, with their Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads.

Of the three later Vedas, the Sāmaveda is the least important from a historical point of view for the main object with which it was compiled was to provide a treatise, enabling priests to chant the hymns to be recited at the Soma sacrifice in a proper style and with the proper accent, and it therefore does not concern itself with any other subject.

With the Yajurveda, the case is different. It contains the germ of the ceremonies which are referred to at great length in the Brāhmaṇas and is the earliest book dealing with the system of sacrifices which, as we have already seen, formed an important feature of the religion of the Aryans from the times when they were yet undivided. After their separation, the two important divisions

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of the Aryan family *viz.* the Greeks and the Romans continued to attach considerable importance thereto but among none of them did the sacrificial system receive so much attention as it did in India. Here, it gathered more and more sanctity with the progress of time and on it, the Brāhmaṇas concentrated all their attention making it almost the sole object of their life. As has been well remarked " a sacrificial fire place was the centre where all learning and ingenuity was brought together and the focus from which knowledge of every kind radiated. It was at the sacrificial fire place that an exciting song in honour of a warrior who had acquired or explored a new territory for the Aryans was recited. It was at a sacrificial fire place that the princely gifts of a rich man to an officiating priest were published to the world. It was at the sacrificial fire place that the nation boasted of its progress in knowledge, its enterprises, its prosperity attributing them all to their god Indra or Agni. It was at the sacrificial fire place that they confessed their sins in a way and prayed to their gods for deliverance from the power of sin incarnate. Here the irresistible national propensity to play at dice was condemned in a language that even at this distance of time moves the heart of the readers, and here the Soma was pounded, squeezed and filtered, its virtues being extolled and cups filled with sparkling juice."

The question naturally arises why the Aryans attached so much importance to the offering of sacrifices. It has been well considered by Mr. Hewitt and as his observations throw a flood of light on the question, we quote them 'in extenso.' " The minds of the earliest races of mankind," the learned author observes " were saturated with fear of the unknown and it was this which first led to the offering of the sacrifice. Man in the early stage of

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civilization as he tried to propitiate the unknown being to whose agency, he attributed any calamity from which he suffered was inclined to repeat the use of means which he thought were efficacious in adverting the wrath of the hidden powers or winning their favour. But this repetition to be effective must necessarily be exact and hence a scrupulous attention to details became at a very early period an indispensable condition attaching to religious ceremonies. When these ceremonies became, as they very soon did, public functions, ritualistic correctness was still more strongly insisted upon. Sacrifices offered for the tribe became important matters of state and though when the fire worshippers introduced the domestic sacrifice to the gods of the household fire, an additional class of private sacrifice was added to those which were all previously public and official, this addition did not detract the great importance which continued to be attached to tribal and territorial sacrifices. The yield of the crop, the increase and wellbeing of the tribe and of its herds and flocks, success in foreign wars and the safety of the people from internal disturbances and famines were all held to depend upon on the due performance of religious rites. Consequently from the earliest institution of these ceremonies, it was thought to be absolutely necessary that no mistake should be made in their performance and the rules prescribed for each rite were handed down from generation to generation as the most precious of national possessions."

The learned author further gives us a clear account of the different stages through which the system passed. "The first sacrifice," he remarks, "was to the mother Earth in its natural state. Ritualism began with the hallowing of the ground on which the sacrifice was offered and the altar which was then heaped up served as the

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symbol of the sacred mother. It is for this reason that the altar is not only said to be the earth in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa but also the earth as the woman from whom all things are born, in other words, the mother earth. To this original worship of the mother earth was added that of the male element which was thought to embody the material power (Dakṣa) necessary for the work of production and it came to be invoked in the name of Agni Svsatakṛt or Rudra. Subsequent inquirers however thought that neither the earliest theological generalisation which ascribed the creation of all things to the mother earth nor the subsequent union of the two material creative powers was a sufficient explanation of the mystery of creation and reproduction. Consequently, the power animating the two active agents was separated from them and made a third god controlling and giving life to the other two and this power was originally repressed in the Iḍah male and female which are still worshipped as the Virāj. Later on, Varuṇa took the place of this third member of the triad till he in his turn was superseded by Indra. The worship of Indra changed the whole aspect under which Nature had hitherto been regarded and made the fertilising waters the central power which united heaven and earth, the father and mother of all things."

The thing offered as sacrifice also underwent similiar changes. Thus at the time when the Aryans came and settled in India, human sacrifices were offered by them, as may be inferred from the story of Śunaḥśepa told in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. According to it, the king Hariśchandra being childless prayed to Varuṇa to give him a son, vowing to sacrifice his first born to the god. A son was then born to him but instead of offering him to the god, Hariśchandra evaded the fulfilment of his vow under

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some pretext or other until the youth attained adolescence. His father now told him what had happened, whereupon the youth escaped to the forests and the king was seized with dropsy for failing to fulfil his vow. One day as he was wandering in the woods he met Ajīgarta, the Ṛṣi, who was starving and he offered him a hundred cows if he promised to give any one of his sons as ransom. Ajīgarta agreed and accordingly Śunaḥśepa was taken to the sacrificial post. Ajīgarta now asked for another hundred cows and this too being agreed to, the time came for killing Śunaḥśepa whereupon he prayed to one god after another till at last he was released from the stakes and the king too was freed from dropsy.

From this, it may well be inferred that human sacrifices were offered by the Indo-Aryans. Nor is this the only fact which can be cited in support of the view for there are passages both in the Aitareya and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇas which point to the same conclusion. Both the passages are remarkable for giving very accurate information regarding the thing which used to be offered for sacrifices and we will quote one of these *viz.* that from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* for the information of our readers.

> "6. At first the gods offered up a man as the victim. When he was offered up, the sacrificial essence went out of him. It entered into a horse; they offered up the horse. When it was offered up, the sacrificial essence went out of it. It entered into the ox. They offered up the ox. When it was offered up, the sacrificial essence went out of it. It entered into the goat. They offered up the goat. When it was offered up, the sacrificial essence went out of it.

* Translation by Prof. Eggeling (S. B. E. Series).

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7. It entered into this earth. They searched for it by digging. They found it in the shape of those two substances, rice and barley. Therefore even now they obtain these two by digging, and as much efficacy as all those sacrificed victims would have for him, so much efficacy has this oblation of rice, for him who knows this. And thus there is in this oblation also that completeness which they call the fivefold animal sacrifice."

This extract, one may safely say, establishes the fact that human sacrifice once prevailed among the Aryans. They however felt the enormity of the practice as they progressed and different kinds of animals were substituted by them one after another. At first, the horse was offered because the idea was to offer to the gods, the best of living creatures and next the various animals mentioned above were substituted for it, till at last, the idea of offering animal sacrifices became repugnant and it was settled that rice and barley were fit offerings to the gods.

Of the various forms of sacrifices, there were five principal classes according to the Yajurveda, *viz.* the Soma, the Rājasūya, the Aśvamedha, the Puruṣamedha and the Sarvamedha. Of the first of these there were seven varieties *viz.* Agniṣṭoma, the Atyagniṣṭoma, the Ukthya, the Soḍaśin, the Vājapeya, the Atirātra and the Aptoryāma sacrifices. The simplest and the most common form of the Soma sacrifice was the Agniṣṭoma and required the immolation of a single victim, a he-goat to Agni and the chanting of twelve 'stotras'. The Ukthya required the offering of an additional sacrifice, *viz.* a he-goat to Indra and Agni and 15 stotras; while the Soḍaśin required as a third victim

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the immolation of a ram to Indra. The distinctive feature of an Atirātra sacrifice was an overnight performance of chants and recitations and a special offering was made to Sarasvatī or the goddess of speech. The Aptoryāma was an amplified form of the Atirātra while the Atyagniṣṭoma was a development of the Agniṣṭoma and was probably introduced, as Professor Weber suggests, to bring up the Soma Saṁsthā, to the sacred number of seven.

The most important of the seven Soma sacrifices was the Vājapeya literally the draught of strength which required besides the four victims mentioned above a set of seventeen victims for Prajāpati. It is pronounced to be a ceremony of superior value and importance to the Rājasūya for according to the Brāhmaṇas while the Rājasūya confers on the sacrificer royal dignity, the Vājapeya confers on him paramount sovereignty. Another mark of distinction between the two is that the Rājasūya is a purely Kṣatriya ceremony to which the Brāhmaṇas had no right while the Vājapeya may be performed by either of them. As regards the status of the person who can perform the sacrifice, it is said that whomsoever the Brāhmaṇas and the kings may place at their head, he may perform the sacrifice.

The Rājasūya was a sacrifice performed to celebrate the inauguration of a king. Its details are complex but to give an account of it in brief, it may be said that it began with offerings to Nirṛti, Agni, Yama, the Vaiśvadevas, Mitra, Varuṇa and Soma and then the following verse from Ṛgveda III 24 was recited.

> Agni, subdue opposing bands and drive our enemies away
> Invincible, slay godless foes give splendour to the worshippers.

Offerings were next made to Savitar for sway over rulers, to Agni for sway over householders, to Soma for that over trees, to Bṛhaspati for speech, to Indra for suzerainty,

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to Rudra for cattle, to Mitra for direction to the path of truth and to Varuṇa for law's protection. Libations from waters of the Saraswatī were then offered and after the king had put on the prescribed garments, the officiating priest recited the following verses :—

10. Ascend the east–May Gayatrī protect thee, the psalm Rathantara, the triple praise song, the season spring and the rich treasure, priesthood.
11. Ascend the south—Be thy protector Triṣṭ up, the Bṛhat Sāman, the fifteenfold praise song, the season summer and the treasure kingship.
12. Ascend the west – May Jagatī protect thee, the psalm Vairūpa, the seventeenfold praise song, the rain time and that store of wealth the people.
13. Ascend the north–Thy guardians be Anuṣṭup, Vairāja psalm, the twenty-one-fold praise song, the season autumn, that rich treasure-fruitage.

The Aśvamedha or the horse sacrifice was a ceremony performed—at least in later times—to celebrate the supremacy of a suzerain over the neighbouring kings. It thus differed from the Rājasūya which was a state ceremonial to which any petty ruler might fairly think himself entitled. Its origin and history have been discussed with much learning by Prof. Eggeling in his introduction to Volume V of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. According to him, we have the earliest reference to it in two hymns of the Ṛgveda *viz.* I. 162 and 163. He is however of opinion on linguistic and on other grounds that they belong to the latest production of that collection though still sufficiently far removed from the oldest Brāhmaṇas. At that time it was a ceremony of a purely secular character and it was only later on clothed with a more popular and

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chivalrous aspect. We therefore find that while in the time of the Ṛgveda, the only sacrifice that was offered consisted of a horse, and a he-goat, not less than 609 victims were bound to the stake in the time of the Yajurveda.

The ceremony in the times of this later Veda began with the officiating priest putting an ornament of gold round the neck of the sacrificer and a girdle of *darbha* grass round the horse. Water was then sprinkled on the latter and after oblations of clarified butter were offered with their respective formulas to various deities, the following formula was pronounced.

> "Mighty through thy dame, eminent through thy sire, thou art a horse, thou art a steed, thou art a courser, thou art a yoke horse, thou art a strong steed, thou art a stallion, thou art manly minded. Thou art called Yayu, thou art called Śiśu. Follow thou the flight of the Ādityas.
>
> Gods, warders of the regions, protect for the gods this horse, besprinkled for sacrifice."

The sacrificer then offered the following prayer :—

> "O Brahman, let there be born in the kingdom the Brāhmaṇa, illustrious for religious knowledge. Let there be born the Rājanya, heroic, skilled archer, piercing with shafts mighty warriors, the cow giving abundant milk, the ox good at carrying, the swift courser, the industrious woman. May Parjanya send rain, according to our desire. May our fruit bearing plants ripen. May acquisition and preservation of prosperity be secured to us."

The horse was now let loose to wander for some time and on his return, the chief queen and two other royal

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consorts used to anoint him with clarified butter. This done, the horse was slaughtered and this completed the sacrifice.

Such was the Aśvamedha ceremony in its simple aspect. When later on, it was clothed with a chivalrous character, formalities meant to harmonise with the change were introduced. For instance, when the horse was let loose, it became customary to send a hundred young men, sons of princes or high court officers armed with all sorts of weapons to watch and guard him from all dangers. Any person who checked the career of the horse was supposed to contest the right of suzerainty of the owner and had at once to enter the lists with the leader of the young princes and nobles accompanying the steed. Such cases were however rare, for generally kings of undisputed supremacy only ventured to perform the great ceremony.

The Puruṣamedha ceremony was intended like the Aśvamedha to obtain for the sacrificer universal preeminence and any blessing which the horse sacrifice may fail to secure. The details of the ritual are much the same as those of the Aśvamedha, man the noblest victim being actually or symbolically sacrificed instead of the horse and men and women of various tribes, complexion, character, and profession being attached to the sacrificial stake, instead of the wild and tame animals of the Aśvamedha, enumerated in Book XXIV. The Puruṣa Sūkta (R. V. X 90) was then recited to the assembled human victims and they were next released uninjured, the whole ceremony being merely emblematical and a type of the allegorical self-immolation of Puruṣa, the Cosmic Man.

The Sarvamedha was a ten days' ceremony that ranked higher than even the Puruṣamedha though the object in celebrating it was to attain universal success

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and prosperity as in the case of the sacrifices previously considered. Many of the verses recited on the occasion were taken from the Ṛgveda and consisted of invocations to Agni, Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra, Viṣṇu, Maruts, the Aśvins &c. A peculiar feature of the ceremony was that after performing it, the sacrificer had to leave his home and return to a wilderness for the rest of his life.

Besides the sacrifices enumerated above which were of a public character, more or less, there were other sacrifices of a simple kind performed in the household. Thus there was the sacrifice known as the Sthālīpāka, in which the sacrificer, his wife and a priest took part and which was performed on every new and full moon day. Then there was the Śravaṇā Karma performed about the month of August when the agriculturist offered his humble prayer to God, for the beneficent showers of rain which made the green grass grow, clothed the ground with a rich green carpet, ensured a bountiful harvest, made the atmosphere cool and pleasant and lent a cheerful aspect to Nature. About this time, a sacrifice was also performed to appease the serpents known as the Sarpabali and it was followed by the Aśvayujī performed in October, about the end of the rainy season; then came the ceremony known as Pratyavarohaṇa performed after the harvest was reaped and the fruits had ripened when the Aryan peasant and patriarch sat surrounded by his family to reap the benefits of his hard work during the monsoon. The Āgrayaṇa ceremony was also performed about the same time, and two other ceremonies in honour of the dead *viz.* the Pitṛyajna and the Anvaṣṭakā completed the set of seven sacrifices usually performed by the head of the Aryan family.

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The great importance which now began to be attached to the due performance of these sacrifices led to a steady increase in the power and prestige of the priestly class. It was their duty to be well acquainted with all its intricacies and the stronger became the belief that the offering of sacrifices led to beatitude in this world and the next, the firmer became their hold over the people. As the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa puts it, " what is complete in form, that is successful in sacrifice " and the sacrificer was therefore always anxious to secure the services of one who was thoroughly versed therein. It was devoutly believed that the Mantras he recited could fulfil any desire and that by virtue thereof, life could be prolonged, victory gained in battle and things lost recovered. In fact, so complete was their faith in the matter that the priests safely laid down without fear of opposition that " the Hotā may just do with the sacrificer what he pleases."

It must however be stated that the priestly class did not abuse the confidence vested in them. There were indeed some who as the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa tersely puts it were ready to take gifts, who thirsted to drink Soma, who " were hungry of eating food and ready to roam about everywhere, according to their pleasures," but they were only the worst specimens of the class. The best among them were men of unimpeachable character who commanded the respect of their brethren by their self denial and by their austere mode of living. As the literature they have bequeathed to us clearly shows the majority led a life of virtue, free from the noise and turmoil of the town, meditating on the problems of life and enunciating to their fellow-brothers, the principle of plain living and high thinking. Their learning and experience frequently induced kings to seek their advice in complex matters of state, but

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they never cared to obtain, in return for this, any share in the management of the state. Their idea was to devote all their life to the well being of the suffering humanity, and their hermitage was the resort of the old man who after a hard and active life, wanted to pass his days in peace as well as of the young who had yet to make his way in the world. Children whom there was none to look after were brought up here with parental care and given a training which made them ornaments to the society. In short, they were a source of help and comfort to the poor and the rich, the strong and the weak, the old and the young and it was this noble life, they led which enabled them to obtain over the mind of the people an influence which, as has been well remarked, the priestly community has striven to attain in many a place but which they actually attained in India alone.

Another notable result of the ever increasing complexity of the ritual system was that the Aryan social organism which was so far a compact body began now to differentiate itself into distinct groups having characterstics of their own. For instance, a portion among them devoted themselves to the study of the sacrificial lore and they became known as the Brāhmaṇas. Those who were the leaders of tribes and clans, and those who on account of their descent or personal influence occupied a position conspicuous above the rest became the Kṣatriyas. A large section from among them however continued to apply themselves to agricultural pursuits and these were the Vaiśyas. Lastly, the non-Aryan population was included in one great group—the Śūdras and thus there came into being the four great classes, the Brāhmaṇas, the Kṣatriyas, the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras.

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At first, however, there were no rigid rules prohibiting any kind of intercourse between the three Aryan communities and even the members of the fourth class were admitted within the pale of the first, the only test being one of merit. Thus we learn from the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa that Kavaṣa, the son of Ilūṣa, was once expelled from a session held on the Sarasvatī on the ground that he was the son of a slave girl and gamester, but when it became known, "that he knew the gods and the gods knew him," he was admitted and recognised as a member of their caste. The story of Satyakāma Jābāla supports the same view. It is so beautiful in its simplicity that we think we are justified in quoting it 'in extenso.'

"Satyakāma, the son of Jabālā addressed his mother and said, I wish to become a Brahmachārin (religious student), mother. Of what family am I?

2. She said to him: I do not know my child, of what family thou art. In my youth, when I had to move about much as a servant, I conceived thee. I do not know of what family thou art. I am Jabālā by name, thou art Satyakāma; say that thou art Satyakāma Jābāla.

3. He going to Gautama Hāridrumata, said to him: I wish to become a Brahmachārin with you, Sir. May I come to you, Sir.

4. He said to him: Of what family are you, my friend? He replied: I do not know, Sir, of what family I am. I asked my mother and she answered "In my youth when I had to move about much as a servant, I conceived

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thee. I do not know of what family thou art. I am Jabālā by name, thou art Satyakāma." I am therefore Satyakāma Jābāla, Sir.

5. He said to him, no one but a true Brāhmaṇa would thus speak out. Go and fetch fuel, friend. I shall initiate you. You have not swerved from the truth.*

These are clear instances which establish beyond doubt that the caste system was not rigid at the time and no sharp line was drawn barring one community from entering the other.

It is the opinion of some scholars that subdivisions of the four main castes had begun in the time of the Yajurveda, the portions relied upon being Books XVI and XXX of the Yajurveda. There we find the names of carpenters, potters, cooks, engravers and wood-cutters; of keepers of elephants, horses and cattles; of orators, astronomers and physicians; of jewellers and merchants; and of poets and musicians. It is however easy to see that these are not the names of castes but of professions. Again, if subcastes had begun to be formed in the times of the Yajurveda, we should be able to find distinct traces of them in the Atharvaveda which is generally acknowledged to be later but there they are nowhere referred to. We may therefore safely conclude that subcastes had not come into existence in the period which we are considering.

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* Chhāndogya Upaniṣad (IV 4).

CHAPTER II.

MAGIC AND MEDICINE.

Besides the sacrificial system, the Aryans devoted considerable attention to the art of magic, that is, the art of curing disease and warding off evil by spells and incantations. Other nations of antiquity *e. g.* the Egyptians and the Chaldeans also paid special attention to it and we may pause to consider the reasons thereof.

The phenomenon which among others arrests the attention of man as he tries to grapple the mysteries of nature, so difficult to grasp without the aid of science is that of those unforeseen events which mar God's noble work and appear to break its harmony. He finds that a man who was a willing help-mate is suddenly struck down by fever or that the small hut in which he was living is rendered uninhabitable by frost or that a rivulet which afforded him ample water dries up. Unable to ascertain the causes thereof, he regards these events as the work of some mysterious beings whom he cannot see and whose influence he is not in a position to counteract. He therefore has no other recourse but to leave the things to take care of themselves. To his surprise, he finds that the sick man recovers, the frost disappears, the rivuletflo ws again. These events happen again and again, till at last, he begins to feel that besides the evil spirits, there are others who are inclined favourably to him and capable of undoing the mischief wrought by the evil ones. The religious feeling now kindles within him, and his attempt to express the same constitutes the foundation of religion. He may conclude that there are a number of agencies

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whose mission is to be helpful to man, ignoring the evil spirits and their deification leads to Polytheism—as we find was the case with the undivided Aryans,—or he may conclude that there are two agencies at work, one intending to do good to mankind, and the other thwarting its purpose and that forms the basis of the dualistic system, of which the religion of Zoroaster furnishes the best illustration. As the mind reflects more and more, the races who have adopted the polytheistic conception of the universe perceive that there is one great principle which moves the world and regulates everything that happens, so that polytheism leads to monotheism as we find among the Aryans who came and settled in India. It is however the gifted few who perceive this truth; the dread of the supernatural still lingers among the masses, and some members of the intelligent class taking advantage of the credulity of their less fortunate brethren claim that by the aid of certain formulas or by their will power, they can ward off the evil which threatens them and this leads to an elaborate system of magic.

Magic was, for the reasons stated above, practised by the Egyptians, the Chaldeans and the Hindus from very early times and archæologists have succeeded in tracing a large number of inscriptions in Chaldea* and Egypt containing information about the art as practised there. The ancient Aryans wrote a special treatise on the subject and this has come down to us in the form of the Atharvaveda Saṁhitā.

The authorship of the work is ascribed to two priests Atharvan and Aṅgiras and it is often called Atharvāngirasaḥ after them. A large number of its hymns are also ascribed to Brahman and the Veda is sometimes called by

* See Chaldean Magic by Lenormant.

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the name of Brahmaveda. Professor Bloomfield is of opinion that* the terms Atharvan and Aṅgiras serve to distinguish two sorts of hymns, the Atharvan hymns referring to those which are holy and the Aṅgiras ones to those which are unholy ; but opinion is not unanimous on the subject.† Another interesting question relating to it which has been well discussed is whether Atharvan and Aṅgiras were the real composers of the hymns. It is decided in the negative by Prof. Weber, his opinion being that the Veda was called after them only with a view to increase its sanctity. It is however quite likely that the hymns of the Saṁhitā were composed by them and though they may not have been codified by them, they might have been transmitted orally from one generation to another until they were finally collected and published in the form in which we now have them. This would explain why the Atharvaveda is called the Veda of the Parsees in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa for, both the priests Atharvan and Aṅgiras figure prominently in their sacred writings and a work which owed their origin to them might well be called so, after the race to whom they belonged.

The main object of the spells was to ward off disease or to keep off evil spirits, the one most generally referred to being Takman or fever. Several varieties of them are mentioned *viz.*, anye-dyuḥ, ubhaya dyuḥ, tṛtīyaka, vi-tṛtīya and sadaṁdi. The exact sense of these terms is uncertain but according to Prof. Macdonell and Keith, the first epithet probably designates the fever known as quotidianuś which occurs each day at the same hour and the ubhaya dyuḥ variety a disease recurring for two successive days, the third being free. The tṛtīyaka

* Introduction to the hymns of the Atharvaveda.

† Vide Prof. Whitney's translation of the Atharvaveda Saṁhitā (Harvard's Oriental Series).

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is the tertian fever while vi-tṛtīyaka the sort which occurs daily but with a correspondence in point of time or severity of attack on alternate days. Other diseases are also mentioned *viz.*, consumption, rheumatism, diarrhœa and dysentery. The following short hymn is intended to cure cough —

1. As the soul with the soul's desire to a distance flies, thus do thou, O cough, fly forth along the soul's course of flight.
2. As a well sharpened arrow to a distance flies, thus do thou, O cough, fly forth along the expanse of the earth.
3. As the rays of the sun, swifty to a distance fly, thus do thou, O cough, fly forth along the flood of the sea.

Another was intended to stop the flow of blood. It runs :—

1. The maidens that go yonder, the veins, closed in red garments, like sisters without a brother, bereft of strength, they shall stand still.
2. Stand still thou lower one, thou higher one : do thou in the middle also stand still !
   Thou most tiny (vein) stand still : may then the great artery stand still.
3. Of the hundred arteries and the thousand veins, those in the middle here indeed stood still. At the same time, the ends have ceased to flow.
4. Around you has passed a great sandy dyke, stand ye still, pray take your ease.

There are also spells to cure the bites of snakes and scorpions.

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3. Wherever thou hast been bitten, wherever thou hast been sucked, from there do we exorcise for thee, the poison of the small greedily biting insect (so that it be) devoid of strength.
4. Thou serpent here crooked, without joints, and without limbs, that twisteth thy crooked jaws, mayst thou, O Bṛhaspati, straigten them out as a (bent) reed.
5. The poison of the Sarkota (scorpion) that creeps low upon the ground (after he) has been deprived of its strength, I have taken away. Moreover, I have caused him to be crushed,
6. There is no strength in thy arms, in thy head, nor in the middle (of thy body). Then why dost thou so wickedly carry a small (sting) in thy tail.

As might have been expected, those who claimed to cure by means of charms, had often to resort to physical remedies and from the description given in the Atharvaveda, it appears that these included plants, spring water, baths &c. Of the plants, the one frequently mentioned is the Kuṣṭha plant said to grow on the Himavat and efficacious in curing fever (takman), ordinary and intermittent. Another Silāchi whose mother is night and whose father is the cloud is said to cure wounds caused by the club, the arrow or the fire, and is described to be a gold coloured lovely fiery plant, with hairy stem. It must either have been a creeper or a parasite, for it is described as growing upon the noble Plakṣa tree (Ficus infectoria), the Aśvattha (Ficus religiosa), the Khadira (Acacia catechu), the Dhava (Grislea tomentosa), the Nyagrodha (the Ficus Indica) and the Parṇa (Butea frondosa). A

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tree called the Chipudru is also mentioned and it was believed to have the property of curing neuralgia in the limbs, in the ears and the eyes while a plant named Sadampuṣpā is mentioned as having the property of revealing the three heavens, the three earths and the six directions, that is to say, was probably used for curing blindness.

Flowing water is described as being invaluable in case of heartache. Thus, hymn No. 24 of Book VI runs.

> From the Himavat mountains, they flow forth, in the Sindhu (Indus). May the waters indeed grant me that cure for heartache.
>
> The pain that hurts me in the eyes and that which hurts in the heels and the forefeet, the waters, the most skilled of physicians shall put all that to right.

Spring water is prescribed as a useful remedy in case of excessive discharges from the body. It is said to have been buried deep down by the Asuras and to have been brought up from the seas by ants.

The Atharvaveda frequently refers to amulets, made of various materials, such as gold, pearl shell, lead, wood &c., and they are spoken of as giving splendour, vigour and strength. It also provides a number of remedies for dropsy, leprosy &c., and there are even charms for driving away a rival wife and winning a woman's love. A hymn for driving away the Piśachas is remarkable for its arrogant tone and we quote it 'in extenso.'

"I overpower the Piśachas with power; I take to myself their property; I slay all the abusers; let my design be successful. I am a vexer of the Piśāchas as a tiger of them that have kine. Like dogs on seeing a lion, they do not find a hiding place."

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"I cannot bear with Piśāchas, nor with thieves, nor with savages. The Piśāchas disappear from the village which I enter. Whatever village this formidable power of mine enters, from that the Piśāchas disappear; they devise not evil." (A. V. IV. 36.)

Another hymn runs:—

Sharpen thou an axe, also sharpen thou fire, sharpen thou Indra's thunderbolt, sharp are they of whom, I am the household priest. The weapons of them I sharpen up; their royalty having good heroes I increase; be their authority unwasting, victorious; their intents let all the gods aid.

> Let their energies be excited, O bounteous one, let the noise of the conquering heroes arise: let the noise, the clear halooes go up severally, let the divine Maruts with Indra as their chief go with the army. Go forth, conquer O man! formidable be your arms; having sharp arrows; slay them of weak bones; having formidable weapons, having formidable arms (slay) the weak ones. (A.V. III 19).*

Another hymn (IV. 22) praying for success to the king, however, breathes the same serene spirit as similiar hymns in the Ṛgveda. It has been translated as follows†:—

"This warrior, O Indra, do thou strengthen for me, do thou instal this one as the sole ruler of the Viś (the people); emasculate all his enemies: subject them to him in their contests."

"2. To him apportion his share of village horses and cattle; deprive of his share, the one that is his enemy. May this king be the pinnacle of royalty: subject to him, O Indra, every enemy."

Whitney's Atharvaveda, p. 209-210.

* Whitney's Atharvaveda p. 120.

† Bloomfield—Hymns of the Atharvaveda p. 115.

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"3. May this one be the treasure lord of riches: May the king be the tribal lord of the Viś (the people). Upon this one, O Indra, bestow great lustre; devoid of lustre render his enemy."

"4. For him, shall ye O heaven and earth, milk ample good as two milch cows, yielding warm milk. May this king be favoured of Indra, favoured of cows, of plants and earth."

"5. I unite with thee Indra who has supremacy, through whom one conquers and is not himself conquered, who shall instal thee as sole ruler of the people and as chief of the human beings."

As the Atharvaveda deals principally with the subject of magic and medicine, information regarding other matters is rare. There are however a few cosmogonic hymns and the following deserves to be specially noted. (XII. 1).

"Truth, greatness, universal order, strength, consecration, creative fervour, spiritual exaltation, the sacrifice support the earth. May the earth the mistress of that which was and shall be prepare for us a broad domain."

"2. The earth that has heights and slopes and great plain, that supports the plant of manifold virtues, free from the pressure that comes from the midst of men, she shall spread out for us and fit herself for us."

"3. The earth upon which the sea and the rivers, and the waters upon which food and the tribes of men have risen, which supports the manifold, breathing moving things shall afford us cattle and other possessions also."

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"4. The earth upon which, of old, the first men unfolded themselves, upon which the gods overcame the Asuras shall procure for us (all) kinds of cattle, horses and fowls, good fortune and glory."

* * * *

"8. The earth which was formerly upon the ocean (of space) which the wise seers found out by their careful devices, whose heart is in the highest heaven, immortal, surrounded by truth, shall bestow upon us brilliancy and strength (and place us) in supreme sovereignty."

"10. The earth which the Aśvins have measured, upon which Viṣṇu has stepped out, which Indra the lord of might has made friendly to himself—she the mother shall pour forth milk for me, the son."

"11. Thy snowy mountains, heights and thy forests, O earth, shall be kind to us. The brown, the black, the red, the multi,—coloured, the firm earth that is protected by Indra, I have settled upon, not suppressed, not slain not wounded.

14. Him that hates us, O earth, him that battles against us, him that is hostile towards us, with his mind and his weapons do thou subject to us, anticipating our wish by deed.*

The hymn to Kāla (XIX 54) is more sublime. We are told.

"From time, the waters did arise, from time the Brahma (spiritual exaltation) the Tapas (creative fervour), the regions (of space) did

* The hymns of the Atharvaveda, translated by Bloomfield. (S. B. E. p. 199.

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arise). Through time, the sun rises, in time he goes down again. Through time the wind blows, through time exists the great earth; the great sky is fixed in time. In time Prajāpati begot of yore that which was and that which shall be. From time, the Ṛks arose, the Yajus was born from time and time put forth the sacrifice, the imperishable share of the gods."

A very remarkable feature both of the Yajurveda and the Atharvaveda is that we find therein a distinct mention of the lunar mansions.

The following is an extract from the Atharvaveda.

"Seeking favours of the twenty-eight fold wonderous ones, shining in the sky together, ever moving, hasting in the creation, I worship with songs, the days of the firmament.

2. Easy of invocation for me (be) the Kṛttikās and Rohiṇī: be Mṛgaśīrṣa as excellent (and) Ārdrā healthful: be the Punarvasū pleasantness, Puṣya what is agreeable, the Āśleṣās light, the Maghās progress (for me).

3. Be the former Phālguni and Hastā here auspicious: be Chitrā propitious and Svāti easy for me; be the two Viśākhas bestowal, Anurādhā easy of invocation, Jyeṣṭha a good asterism, Mūla uninjured.

4. Let the former Āṣāḍhas give me food; let the latter ones bring refreshment: let Abhijit give me what is auspicous: let Śrāvaṇa and the Śraviṣṭhās make good prosperity.

5. Let Śatabhiṣaj (bring) to me what is great, let the double Proṣṭhapada bring to me good

protection ; let Revatī and the two Aśvayuj (bring) fortune to me ; let the Bharaṇīs bring to me wealth.

Months were not called after the names of the Nakṣatras as they are now called but had names which gave some idea of the distinctive character of each.* Thus Vaiśākha (April–May) was called Madhava or honey like, Jyeṣṭha (May—June) was called Śukra or bright ; and Āṣāḍha (June-July) was called Suchi or pure. Śrāvaṇa (July or August) was known as Nabhas or mist, Bhādra (August September) as Nabhasya or misty, Aśvin (September-October) as Iṣ or food, Kārtika (October-November) as Ūrj or energy : Mārgaśīrṣa (November- December) as Sahas or strength. Puṣya (December-January) as Sahasya or strong ; Magha (January-February) as Tapas or pain and Phālguna (February-March) as Tapasya or painful.

The gods referred to in the later Vedas, are the same as those in the Ṛgveda. The Atharvaveda however contains the name of some new deities such as Kāma (love) Rohita (the ruddy sun) and Prāṇa (breath). The Sāmaveda further contains a reference to the deified Garuḍa and prayers are also offered to the river Sarasvatī and Yamunā called Aṁśumatī and to the waters generally.

* Book VII 30. Griffith's Yajurveda p. 56.

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CHAPTER III.

THE BRĀHMAṆAS.

Having thus given an account of the civilisation of the Aryans during the period of the three later Vedas, we will now proceed to give a brief sketch of the progress made by them in the period of the Brāhmaṇas.

The leading feature thereof is the further development of the sacrificial system. The verses of the four Vedas were taken one by one and elaborate treatises were written to explain their import and significance. In some cases, opinions differed with regard to the details of the ritual procedure and this led to the formation of different schools, each having its own Brāhmaṇa. Thus we have two Brāhmaṇas of the Ṛk Saṁhitā *viz.* the Aitareya and the Kauśītaki or the Śāṅkhāyana which are closely connected with each other and treat essentially of the same matter but frequently take opposite views of the same question. The Sāmaveda has three Brāhmaṇas, the Tāṇḍya—Brāhmaṇa also known as the Panchviṁśa or the Prauḍha Brāhmaṇa and consisting as its name implies of twenty-five books, the Chhāndogya Brāhmaṇa which deals with ceremonies relating to birth and marriage, and prayers addressed to divine beings, and the Brāhmaṇa of the Talavakāras. The Black Yajurveda has only one *viz.* the the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa belonging to the Taittirīya school while the two other schools of the Veda *viz.* Kaṭha and the Maitrāyaṇīya schools have no independent Brāhmaṇa but the prose portions of their Saṁhitas are, in the opinion of Prof. Macdonell evidently meant to serve that purpose. So also the White Yajurveda has got one

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—the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and the Atharvaveda, one called the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa.

Another feature of the period which we are now considering is that the causes which had led to the formation of the four castes became attenuated and their duties became distinctly defined. Thus speaking of the Kṣatriyas, the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa observes that just as the Nyagrodha tree has by means of its descending roots, a firm footing on the earth, the royal power of the Kṣatriya who enjoys, when sacrificing, this portion (as food) has a firm footing and his rule cannot be overthrown. The Vaiśyas are described as those who pay taxes to a king, (who are fit) to be enjoyed by others, and are oppressed according to the pleasure of the king. The Śudras are to serve others, to be beaten and expelled according to the pleasure of their masters and the Brāhmaṇas are those who are ready to take gifts, thirsty after drinking Soma, hungry after eating food and ready to roam about every where, according to their pleasure.

It is easy to see from this that the Brāhmaṇas had begun to be treated with contempt by the ruling class and a struggle for supremacy between the two sections had begun. The former represented the intellectual class of the Aryan community and were determined to preserve their independence; the Kṣatriyas on the other hand were too conscious of their power to admit this claim easily. The course which the Brāhmaṇas adopted under the circumstances was to appeal to the sentiment of the more orthodox among the Kṣatriya princes and to press on their claims of superiority with their help and support. They boldly asserted that the gods do not eat the food of a king who has no Purohita whatever, and "that a king not sacrificing should make a Brāhmaṇa his Purohita in as

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much as a king who does so, institutes heavenly fires that god may eat his food." The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa next continues 'A Purohita indeed becomes his Āhavanīya fire, (his) wife, his Gârhpatya fire (and his) son, his Anvāhārya pachana fire.... These satisfied, sacrificed to, that is propitiated and gratified, gain (for) him, the heavenly world, the royal status, power, a kingdom, and subjects.'*

Another significant passage is VII 19 which Mr. Kunte translates as follows :— †

"Prajāpati created the sacrifice. After the sacrifice was created, he created Brahma and Kṣatra. After Brahma and Kṣatra, he created a two-fold people-both eaters of sacrificial food and non-eaters of sacrificial food. The former are of course next to Brahma : the latter are next to Kṣatra and these which are Brāhmaṇa people are eaters of sacrificial food. Then these which are Rājanya, Vaiśya and Śudra people are non-eaters of sacrificial food. From them, the sacrifice ran away. The Brahma and Kṣatra followed it. The Brahma followed indeed with those implements which are of Brahma; the Kṣatra followed with those which are of Kṣatra. Yes, these are the implements of Brahma which (are) sacrificial implements; then these are the implements of Kṣatra which (are) a horse, a chariot, helpmate or armour, arrows and a bow. Not obtaining it (sacrifice), the Kṣatra returned, because (the sacrifice) fearing (him) goes aside indeed from his weapons.

While the Brāhmaṇas were thus establishing their sway over the orthodox section of the Kṣatriyas, they had recourse to a more clever device for winning over the heterodox among them. As the readers must have noticed,

* Aitareya Brāhmaṇa VIII. 24.

† Vicissitudes of Aryan civilisation in India, p. 226.

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the sacrifice hitherto was a purely religious function intended to seek favour of the gods and to invoke their blessings but the Brāhmaṇas lent a new aspect thereto by clothing it with a political significance. Thus, it was laid down that the Rājasūya could be performed only by such of them as had obtained considerable dominion and the Aśvamedha by those only whose suzeranity over his neighbouring states and kingdoms was well established and unquestioned. New items intended to harmonise with this view were incorporated in the ceremonies originally performed, with the result that what were simple sacrifices in the times of the Yajurveda became elaborate state functions in the time of the Brāhmaṇas. They next appealed to the masses by collecting the legendary folk lore and interpreting them in a way which would appeal to their mind. The story of Purūravas and Urvaśī dimly hinted in the Ṛgveda was expanded and incorporated in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. So also we find mentioned in the Brāhmaṇa, the story of the different incarnations of Viṣṇu which so much fascinated their mind in later times. The most remarkable among them is the story of the Flood, or of the Matsya Avatāra of Viṣṇu. As the story has been traced in the Chaldean tablets and as there is an interesting controversy as to which of these is the original, we will refer to the matter somewhat in details :—

The story as told in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa runs :—

1. In the morning, they brought to Manu water for washing, just as now also, they are wont to bring water for washing the hands. When he was washing himself, a fish came into his hand.

2. It spake to him the words "Rear me—I will save thee." Wherefrom wilt thou save me?—A flood

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will carry away all the creatures; from that I will save thee. How am I to rear thee.?

3. It said as long as we are small, there is great destruction for us; fish devours fish. Thou wilt first keep me in a jar. When I outgrow that, thou wilt dig a pit and keep me in it; when I outgrow that, thou wilt take me down to the sea, for then I shall be beyond destruction!

4. It soon became a large fish. Thereupon it said :— 'In such and such a year that flood will come. Thou shalt then attend to me and prepare a ship and when the flood has risen, thou shalt enter into the ship and I will save thee from it.'

5. After he had reared it in this way, he took it down to the sea, and in the same year which the fish had indicated to him, he attended to his advice by preparing a ship and when the flood had arisen, he entered into the ship. The fish then swam upto him and to its horn, he tied the rope of the ship and by that means he passed swiftly upto the younder Northern mountain (Himālaya).

6. It then said 'I have saved thee. Fasten the ship to a tree but let not the water cut thee off whilst thou art on the mountain. As the water subsides, thou mayest gradually descend.' Accordingly, he gradually descended and hence that slope of the Northern mountains is called Manu's descent. The flood then swept away all these creatures and Manu alone remained here.

The story as told in the Chaldean tablets is as follows :—

"I will tell thee Izdubar, how I was saved from the flood," begins Hasisadra in answer to his descendant's question. "Also will I impart to thee the decree of the great gods. Thou knowest Surippak the city that is by the Euphrates. This city was already very ancient when the gods were moved in their hearts to ordain a great deluge, all of them, their father Anu, their councillor, the godlike Bel, their throne-bearer Ninib, their leader Ennugi. The lord of inscrutable wisdom, the god Ea was with them and

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imparted to me their decision. Listen, he said, and attend. Man of Suripak, son of Ubaratutu, go out of thy house and build thee a ship. They are willed to destroy the seed of life but thou preserve it and bring into the ship, seed of every kind of life. The ship which thou shalt build, let it be.....in length and.....in width and height and cover it also with a deck. When I heard this, I spoke to Ea. My lord if I construct the ship as thou biddest me, O lord, the people and their elders will laugh at me. But Ea opened his lips once more and spoke to me his servant "Men have rebelled against me, and I will do judgment on them high and low. But do thou close the door of the ship when the time comes. Then enter the ship and bring into it thy store of grain, all thy property, thy family, thy men servants and also thy next of kin. The cattle of the fields, the wild beasts of the fields, I shall send to thee myself that they may be safe behind thy door. Then I built the ship and provided it with stores of food and drink. I divided the interior into compartments. I saw to the chinks and filled them; I poured bitumen over its outer side and over its inner side. All that I possessed, I brought together and stowed it in the ship; all that I had of gold of silver, of the seed of life of every kind, all my men servants and my women servants, the cattle of the field, the wild beasts of the field and also my nearest friends. Then when Shamash brought round the appointed time, a voice spoke to me 'This evening the heavens will rain destruction, wherefore go thou into the ship and close thy door.' 'The appointed time has come,' spoke the voice; 'this evening the heavens will rain destruction. And greatly I feared the sunset of that day, the day on which I was to begin my voyage. I was sore afraid. Yet I entered into the ship and closed the door behind me to shut off the ship. And I confided the great ship to the pilot with all its freight. Then a great black cloud rises from the depths of the heavens, and Ramân thunders in the midst of it, while Nebo and Nigral encounter each other and the throne-bearers walk over mountains and vales. The mighty god of pestilence lets loose the whirl winds; Ninîb unceasingly makes the canals to overflow; the Amma-an-ki bring up floods from the depths of the earth which quakes at their violence. Ramân's mass of waters rises even to heaven; light is changed into darkness. Confusion and devastation fills the earth. Brother looks not after brother. Men have no thought for one another. In the heavens, the very gods are afraid: they seek a refuge in the highest heaven of Anu: as a dog in its lair, the gods crouch by the railing of heaven. Ishtar cries aloud with sorrow. Behold, all is turned into mud, as I foretold to the gods. I prophesied this disaster and the extermination of my creature-men. But I do not give them birth that they may fill the sea like the brood of fishes. Then the gods wept with her and sat lamenting on one spot. For six days and seven nights wind, flood and storm reigned supreme but at dawn of the seventh day, the tempest decreased, the waters which had battled like a mighty host abated their violence. The sea retired and storm and flood both ceased. I steered about the sea, lamenting that the homesteads of men were changed into mud. The corpses drifted about like logs. I opened a posthole and when the light of

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day fell on my face, I shivered and sat down and wept. I steered over the countries which now were a terrible sea. Then a piece of land rose out of the waters. The ship steered towards the land Nizir. The mountain of the land Nizir held fast the ship and did not let it go. Thus it was on the first and on the second day, on the third and on the fourth day, also on the fifth and the sixth days. At dawn on the seventh day, I took out a dove and sent it forth. The dove went forth to and fro but found no resting place and returned. Then I took out a swallow and sent it forth. The swallow went forth to and fro but found no resting place and returned. Then I took out a raven and sent it forth. The raven went forth and when it saw that the waters had abated, it came near again, cautiously wading through the water but did not return. Then I let out all the animals to the four winds of heaven and offered a sacrifice. I raised an altar on the highest summit of the mountain, placed the sacred vessels on it seven by seven and spread reeds, cedar, wood and sweet herbs under them. The gods smelled a savour the gods smelled a sweet savour ; like flies they swarmed along the sacrifice and when the goddess Ishtar came she spread on high the great bows of father Anu. By the necklace of my neck! she said, 'I shall be mindful of these days, never shall I lose the memory of them. May all the gods

* * * * *

come to the altar; Bel alone shall not come for that he controlled not his wrath and brought on the deluge and gave up my men to destruction. When after that Bel came nigh and saw the ship, he was perflexed and his heart was filled with anger against the gods and against the spirits of heaven. 'Not a soul shall escape' he cried 'Not one man shall come alive out of destruction.' Then the god Ninib opened his lips and spoke, addressing the war-like Bel. 'Who but Ea can have done this? Ea knew and informed him of everything. Then Ea opened his lips and spoke, addressing the war-like Bel. Thou art the mighty leader of the gods; but why hast thou acted thus recklessly and brought on this deluge? Let the sinner suffer for his sin and the evil doer for his misdeeds but to this man be gracious that he may not be destroyed and incline towards him favourably that he may be preserved. And instead of bringing another deluge let lions and hyenas come and take from the number of men: Send the famine to unpeople the earth. Let the god of pestilence lay men low. I have not imparted Hasisadra the decision of the great gods. I only sent him a dream and he understood the warning. Then Bel came to his senses. He entered the ship, took hold of my hand and lifted me up: he also lifted up my wife and laid her hand in mine. Then he turned towards us, stood between us and spoke this blessing on us. Until now Hasisadra was only human but now he shall be raised to be equal with the gods together with his wife. He shall dwell in the distant land, by the mouth of the river. Then they took me and translated me to the distant land by the mouth of the rivers.

The story as told in Chapters VI and VII of the Genesis is as follows :—

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" And it came to pass, when men began to multiply on the face of the earth and daughters were born unto them.

* * *

And God saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually.

And it repented the Lord that he had made man on the earth and it grieved him at his heart.

And the Lord said I will destroy man whom I have created from the face of the earth—both man and beast and the creeping things and the fowls of the air; for it repenteth me that I have made them.

But Noah found grace in the eyes of the Lord.

* * *

And God said unto Noah. The end of all flesh is come before me for the earth is filled with the violence through them and behold I will destroy them with the earth.

Make thou an ark of gopher wood; rooms shall thou make in the ark and shall pitch it within and without with pitch.

And this is the fashion which thou shall make it of. The length of the ark shall be three hundred cubits, the breadth of it fifty cubits and the length of it thirty cubits.

A window shall thou make to the ark and in a cubit shall thou finish it above and the door of the ark shalt thou set in the side thereof. With lower, second and third stories shalt thou make it.

* * *

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And of every living thing, of all flesh, two of every sort shalt thou bring into the ark to keep them alive with thee ; they shall be male and female.

* * *

And the Lord said unto Noah. Come thou and all thy house into the ark, for thee have I seen righteous before me in this generation.

And Noah did all according unto all that the Lord commanded him.

* * *

In the six hundredth year of Noah's life, in the second month, the seventeenth day of the month, the same day were all the fountains of the great deep broken up and the windows of heaven were opened.

And the rain was upon the earth forty days and forty nights.

* * *

And God remembered Noah and every living thing and all the cattle that was with him in the ark and God made a wind to pass over the earth and the waters assuaged.

The fountains also of the deep and the windows of heaven were stopped and the rain from heaven was restrained.

And the ark rested in the seventh month, on the seventh day of the month upon the mountains of Ararat.

And the waters decreased continually until the tenth month ; in the tenth on the first day of the month were the tops of the mountain seen.

And it came to pass at the end of forty days that Noah opened the window of the ark which he had made.

And he sent fort a reven which went forth to and fro until the waters were dried up from the earth.

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Also he sent forth a dove from him to see if the waters were abated from off the face of the ground. But the dove found no rest for the sole of her foot.

And it came to pass in the six hundredth and fifth year in the first month, the first day of the month, that the waters were dried up from off the earth and Noah removed the covering of the ark and looked and beheld the face of the ground was dry. And in the second month, on the seventh and twentieth day of the month was the earth dried. And God spoke unto Noah saying 'Go forth of the ark, thou and thy wife and thy sons and thy sons' wives with thee. Bring forth with thou every thing that is with thee, of all flesh both of fowl and of cattle and of every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth, that they may breed abundantly upon the earth and be fruitful and multiply upon the earth. And Noah went forth and his sons and his wife and his sons' wives with him. * * * And Noah built an altar into the Lord and took of every clean beast and of every clean fowl and offered burnt offerings on the altar. And the Lord smelled a sweet savor and the Lord said in his heart, I will not curse the ground any more for man's sake for the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth; neither will I smite any more everything living as I have done.

Such is the story of the flood as given in the sacred writings of the Hindus, the Chaldeans and the Christians. The question as to which of the first two is the original has been discussed by many scholars and generally speaking, they are strongly in favour of Chaldea. Mr. Tilak on the other hand is inclined to think that the story as told in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa is quite independent of any connection with Chaldea and is Aryan in origin.* It

* The Arctic Home in the Vedas (p. 387),

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is of course difficult to decide which of the two theories is correct but we may perhaps hold with M. Zenaide Ragōzin that " This most notable legend of the old poem of Erech travelled into India long before the future Aryan lords of the country were heard of" and was incorporated into their sacred literature at some subsequent period. The chief argument in favour of the view is that the Matsya Purāṇa introduces Manu the counter part of the patriarchs Hāsisadra and Noah as a heroic king, the patient son of the Sun who abdicated in favour of his son and devoted himself to ascetic practices *in a certain region* of *Malaya* and the Bhāgvata too speaks of him as the righteous king of Dravida.

Besides the story of the Matsya Avatāra, the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa contains the germ of the Tortoise, the Varāha and the Dwarf incarnations of Viṣṇu. The story of the Tortoise incarnation is given in the first Adhyāya of the six Kāṇḍa and the fifth Adhyāya of the seventh. According to it, when Prajāpati desired to create the earth from the waters, he compressed the earth which was till then in the form of an egg shell and threw it into water. The juice which flowed from it became a tortoise and the earth dissolved itself all over the water so that the universe appeared only as water. Prajāpati then toiled and practised austerity with the result that clay, mud, saline, salt, sand, gravel, rock, ore, gold, plant and trees were created. The version of the story in the seventh Kāṇḍa is less elaborate, all it says is that the lower shell of the tortoise is this terrestrial world, the upper shell the sky and what is between the shell the air.

The story of the boar incarnation is brief and is to the effect that a boar called Emūṣa raised the earth up and became his Prajāpati. More details are however

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given about the dwarf incarnation of Viṣṇu. The story about it is told in the second Adhyāya of the first Kāṇḍa and we are therein informed that the gods and the Asuras were once contending for superiority. The gods were worsted and the Asuras obtained possession of the world and were beginning to divide it with ox-hides from west to east when the gods placing Viṣṇu who was a dwarf at their head went to the Asuras and asked for a share. The Asuras somewhat grudgingly agreed to give as much as Viṣṇu would lie upon. The gods then enclosed Viṣṇu on three sides with the Gāyatrī, the Jagatī and the Tṛṣṭubh metres and on the fourth with Agni and went on worshipping and toiling till they obtained the entire earth.

The object of these myths was, evidently, to explain the origin of the earth. Thus one school of thinkers was probably struck by the fact that water was generally found at some depth below the surface. They therefore conceived the earth as a tortoise flowing upon waters whose convex side or the shield was the sky and whose flat surface was the earth. Another set of thinkers thought that the earth was probably raised up from the waters by some foreign agency and this led to the theory of the boar incarnation. The story of the Matsya Avatāra, we have seen was borrowed from some extraneous sources.

The theogony of the Brāhmaṇas has no distinctive features of its own. The gods invoked are the same as those referred to in the Vedas, *viz.* Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra, Viṣṇu, Rudra &c. but we find that a fusion of some of these was beginning to take place. Thus it is stated in the seventh Adhyāya of the first Kāṇḍa of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa that Agni was called Śarva by the eastern

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people, Bhava by the Bāhlīkas and Paśunāmpati by others and the passage thus well illustrates how Agni and Rudra were beginning to be looked upon as identical. A similar statement is made in the first Adhyāya of the sixth Kāṇḍa though the details vary to a small extent.

There is however one god who occupies a much more prominent position in the pantheon of the Brāhmaṇa than that of the Ṛgveda *viz.* Prajāpati. He is not unknown to the Vedas, being invoked there to bestow abundant offspring but in the Brāhmaṇas, his status is considerably raised and he is therein called the father of the gods and the Asuras, the creator of living beings and the lord of thought and speech. It is also said that he is the whole Brahman and that man is nearest to him.

Another deity whose character is changed to a marked degree is Saraswatī. In the Ṛgveda, she is usually worshipped as a mighty river who tears away with her waves the peaks of the mountains and is described as the greatest of the great and the most active of the active. In the Brāhmaṇas however, her character completely changeth and she is identified with Vāch or speech, so that in the post Vedic mythology, she is regarded as the goddess of learning.

Besides the information detailed above, the Brāhmaṇas give us some information about the Nakṣatras or Lunar mansions. The list given there however does not differ materially from that quoted in Chapter II as will appear from the following passage quoted from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa regarding the time suitable for setting up the Gārhapatya and Āhavanīya fires by the officiating priest. It runs :—

" 1. He may set up the fires under the Kṛttikās, for they the Kṛttikās are doubtless Agni's asterism, so that

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if he sets up fire under Agni's asterism, he will bring about a correspondence (between his fires and the asterism): for this reason, he may set up his fires under the Kṛttikās.

4. On the other hand, it is argued why he should not set up fires under the Kṛttikās. Originally, namely, the latter were the wives of the Bears; for the seven Ṛṣis were in former times called the Ṛkṣas (bears). They were however precluded from intercourse (with their husbands), for the latter, the seven Ṛṣis rise in the north and they the Kṛttikās in the east. Now it is a misfortune for one to be precluded from intercourse with his wife: he should not therefore set up his fires under the Kṛttikās lest he should thereby be precluded from intercourse.

5. But he may nevertheless set up (his fire under the Kṛttikās); for Agni doubtless is their mate and it is with Agni that they have intercourse: for this reason he may set up (the fire under the Kṛttikās).

6. He may also set up his fires under the asterism of Rohiṇī for under Rohiṇī, it was that Prajāpati, when desirous of progeny (or creatures) set up his fires.

8. He may also set up his fires under the asterism of Mṛgaśīrṣa; for Mṛgaśīrṣa indeed is the head of Prajāpati.

10. Under the Punarvasū, he should perform the Punarādheya—thus it is prescribed.

11. He may also set up his fires under the Phalgunīs. They the Phalgunīs are Indra's asterisms and correspond to him in name, for Indra is also called Arjuna, this being his mystic name and they (the Phalgunīs) are also called (Arjunīs) * * *. He may set up the fires under the Pūrva Phalgunīs whereby an advancing sacrifice accrues to him, or he may set them up under the second (Uttara Phalgunīs) whereby a progressive improvement accrues to him.

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12. Let him set up his fires under the asterism Hasta whoever should wish that presents should be offered to him.

13. He may also set up his fires under Chitrā.

A few passages also furnish us with useful information regarding the political organization of the times. As we have seen, in the period of the Ṛgveda, the central power was vested in the king or the tribal head who used to manage every detail regarding the welfare of the tribe. With the expanse of the territory however, his responsibility increased and it became necessary for him to appoint special officers to bear with him the burden of the administration. We, therefore, find that besides the Purohita who it is likely occupied the same position as adviser to the king in religious and other matters as the Kāzī did in the times of the Mahomedans, there was an officer put in command of the army. The chapter giving the names of persons in whose house the king had to stay when celebrating the Aśvamedha ceremony also mention the village headman and the tax collector. Every king had a chronicler to record the events of his time and it is certainly strange that although such persons were regularly employed, hardly any work written by them has been preserved to us. A more interesting officer is the keeper of the dice. As Ihering has pointed out, the Aryans were, in strong contrast to the Semites, much addicted to the game and this remark is amply borne out by the appointment of a special officer for the purpose. Among other officers mentioned in the chapter are the courier and the huntsman. The duty of the last mentioned officer was to organise and supervise hunting, of which the Indo-Aryans were like their European brethren of modern times, extremely fond.

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CHAPTER IV.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE UPANIṢADS.

While the Aryans were developing their peculiar ideas of the sacrificial system to their fullest extent, in the Brāhmaṇas, they were also paying equally great attention to the important subject of philosophy. As we have seen,* they had begun to meditate on the Intelligence who resided beyond the seat of the seven Ṛṣis, who evolved system out of chaos and created the universe, even in the age of the Ṛgveda. These ideas were now fully worked out and we have besides interesting and intelligent discourses on the soul, its destination and immortality. Interspersed among these are short but pithy discourses on the nature of the Mind, Will, Consideration, Reflection, Understanding, &c.

We will first speak briefly of what the Upaniṣads say regarding the soul. The fundamental notion that runs through them all is that of the identity of the individual soul with the Universal Soul. It is clearly and forcibly expressed in the fourteenth Kāṇḍa of the third Prapāṭhaka of the Chhāndogya Upaniṣad where it is said "All the world is the Self. It arises out of, returns into, breathes in the Self. Out of this Universal Soul, all creations, all desires, all sweet sounds, and all sweet tastes proceed. It permeates all things, speechless, passionless."† Again, in the thirteenth Kāṇḍa of the third Prapāṭhaka, it is said "Now that light which shines above this heaven, higher than all, higher than everything in the highest world, beyond which

* Vide page 63

† Gough—The Philosophy of the Upaniṣads p. 62.

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there are no other worlds, that is the same light which is within man." The same idea is expressed with greater fulness in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad when Yājñavalkya discoursing with his wife Maitreyī on the nature of the Self observes :— †

"The Self is that into which all things pass away, even as the ocean is the one thing into which all waters flow; as the touch is the sense in which all modes of tactual feelings meet; as the sight is the sense in which all feelings of colour meet; as the hearing is the sense in which all feelings of sound meet; as the common sensory is the organ in which all the volitions find their unity, as the heart is the place where all the modes of mind are unified; as the hands are the organs in which all forms of manual activity are at one; as the feet are those in which all modes of locomotion are centred; as the voice is the organ in which all repetitions of the Veda are at one."

As regards attributes of the Universal Soul, Yājñavalkya observes as follows in his discourse with Gārgī on the subject in the eighth Brāhmaṇa of the third Adhyāya of the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad (III. viii. 8-11). "It is not large and not minute, not short nor long; without blood, without fat, without shadow, without darkness, without wind, without ether, not adhesive, not tangible, without smell, without taste, without eyes, ears, voice or mind, without heat, breath, or mouth, without personal or family name, unaging, undying, without fear immortal, dustless, not uncovered or covered, with nothing before, nothing behind, nothing within. It consumes no one and is consumed by no one. It is the unseen seer, the unheard hearer, the unthought thinker, the unknown knower.

* The Philosophy of the Upaniṣads p. 112 (Bṛhadaraṇyaka Upaniṣad—IV 5-12).

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There is no other seer, no other hearer, no other thinker, no other knower. That is the eternal in which space is woven and which is interwoven with it."*

Yājñavalkya then goes on to explain how this Imperishable Being controls the Universe, saying "At the bidding of this Imperishable, O, Gārgī, the Sun and the Moon are kept asunder from each other. At the bidding of this Imperishable, O, Gārgī, the minutes and the hours, the days and nights, the half months, months, the seasons and the year are kept asunder. At the bidding of this Imperishable, O, Gārgī, the streams run downwards from the snowy mountains, some to the east, some to the west, and whithersoever, each one goes; at the bidding of this Imperishable, O, Gārgī, men praise the generous men, gods strive for the sacrificer, the fathers for the offerings of the dead. Verily, O Gārgī, he who knows not this Imperishable, though in this world he offers and has offerings made, though he suffers penance many a thousand years, gains an unenduring (reward); but he who knows not that Imperishable, O Gārgī and departs from this world he indeed is miserable; but he who, O Gārgī, knowing this Imperishable departs from this world, he indeed is a Brāhmaṇa."

Again in the seventh Brāhmaṇa of the third Adhyāya, the student aspiring to the highest knowledge is instructed as follows :—

"Yājñavalkya said. He who dwells in the earth, and within the earth, whom the earth does not know, whose body the earth is and who pulls (rules) the earth within, he is thy self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal."

* Macdonell's Sanskrit Literature p. 219.

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" He who dwells in the water and within the waters, whom the water does not know, whose body the water is and who pulls (rules) the water within, he is thy self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal."

He who dwells in the fire, and within the fire, whom the fire does not know, whose body the fire is, and who pulls (rules) the fire within, he is thy self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal.

He who dwells in the sky and within the sky, whom the sky does not know, whose body the sky is, and who pulls (rules) the sky within, he is thy self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal.

He who dwells in the air (Vāyu) and within the air, whom the air does not know, whose body the air is, and who pulls (rules) the air within, he is thy self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal.

He who dwells in all beings, and within all beings, whom all beings do not know, whose body all beings are, and who pulls (rules) all beings within, he is thy self, the puller (ruler) within, the immortal.*

These extracts will, we hope, give our readers a fair idea of the teaching of the Upaniṣads from the stand-point of theology. We may next consider what the Upaniṣads say regarding the manifestation of the Imperishable Being as the world. The first explicit exposition of the subject is contained in the Chhāndogya Upaniṣad (III 19) where it is said :—

" In the beginning, this was non-existent. It became existent as it grew. It turned into an egg. The egg lay for the time of a year. The egg broke open. The two halves were one of silver, the other of gold.

* The Upanisads Part II S. B. E. Series, p. 132.

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The silver one became this earth, the golden one the sky, the thick membrane (of the white) the mountains, the thin membrane (of the yolk) the mist with the clouds, the small veins the rivers the fluid the sea.

And what was born from it was Āditya, the Sun. When he was born, shouts of hurrah arose and all beings arose, and all things which they desired.*

A different account † of the origin of the Universe is given in VI 2 by Uddālaka, the son of Aruṇa in his dialogue on the subject with his son Śvetaketu. He says:—

"In the beginning, my dear, there was that only which is one only, without a second; others say, in the beginning there was that only which is not, one only, without a second; and from that which is not, that which is was born.

2. 'But how could it be thus, my dear,' the father continued. 'How could that which is, be born of that which is not? No, my dear; only that which is, was in the beginning, one only, without a second.

3. It thought, may I be many, may I grow forth. It sent forth fire.

That fire thought may I be many, may I grow forth. It sent forth water.

And therefore whenever anybody anywhere is hot and perspires, water is produced on him from fire alone.

4. Water thought, may I be many, may I grow forth. It sent for earth (food).

"Therefore whenever it rains anywhere, most food is then produced. From water alone is eatable food produced."

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* The Upanisads Part II p. 54 (S. B. E. Series).

† „ „ 93 Do.

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The teaching of the Taittirīya Upaniṣad (II. 1) on the subject is as follows :—

"From that Self (Brahman) sprang ether (ākāśa, that through which we hear); from ether, air (that through which we hear and feel); from air, fire (that through which we hear, feel and see); from fire, water (that through which we hear, feel, see and taste); from water, earth (that through which we hear, feel, see, taste and smell). From earth herbs, from herbs food, from food seed, from seed man; man thus consists of the essence of food." *

Such are the main features of the theory of the Upaniṣads regarding the origin of the world and the elements. Though it cannot be urged that they can stand the test of modern science, if critically examined, yet it must be said that considered generally, they show that the Aryans had even in those remote ages arrived nearer the truth in judging of the origin of the cosmos than any other nation of equal antiquity and we cannot help admiring the intelligence of those who came to these conclusions by mere abstract meditation without the aid of all those instruments which science affords.

As the individual soul is a portion of the Universal Soul, theoretically, it follows that on the death of an individual, his soul would return to and merge into the latter. The Upaniṣads however maintain that this in fact would happen in the case of those few individuals who while living had attained to the highest sort of knowledge, so as to be free from all desires. As the vast majority of mankind do not attain to that, they on their death are born again and again among a higher or lower kind, according to the deeds performed by them in each birth. Thus, according to the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad.†

* The Upanisads—(S. B. E. Series Vol. XV) p. 54.

† IV 46 (S. B. E. Series Vol XV) p. 176.

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" To whatever object a man's own mind is attached to that he goes strenuously together with his deed; and having obtained the end (the last results) of whatever deed he does here on earth, he returns again from that world (which is the temporary reward of his deeds) to the world of action."

" So much for the man who desires. But as to the man who does not desire, who not desiring, freed from desires, is satisfied in his desires or desires the Self only, his vital spirits do not depart elsewhere; being Brahman, he goes to Brahman."

Both the Chhāndogya and the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣads give also a detailed account of the stages through which the soul passes after death. According to them, there are two paths of which one is called the Devayāna and the other the Pitṛyāna. The path of the gods is meant for those who know the Vedic doctrine of our being born in the five fires *viz.* heaven, rain, earth, man and woman. It is also intended according to the Chhāndogya Upaniṣad for those who practise faith and austerities in the forest and according to the Bṛhadāraṇyaka for those who know the truth. The path of the fathers is meant for those who practise sacrifices, pious deeds and alms giving in the villages. The different stages in the path of the gods (Devayāna) are as follows :—

" Those now who know this, and those others who practise faith and penance in the forests, enter into the flame (of the funeral pyre) from the flame into the day, from the day into the light half of the month, from the light half of the month into the summer months (literally into the six months in which the Sun journeys northwards) from the months into the year, from the year into

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the Sun, from the Sun into the Moon, from the Moon into the lightning.*

"On the other hand, those who (only) practise sacrifices, pious deeds, and alms giving in the village, these enter into the smoke (of the funeral pyre) from the smoke into the night, from the night into the other (dark) half of the month, from the other half of the month, into the six winter months (literally the six months in which the Sun journeys southwards); these do not reach the year but pass from the months into the world of the fathers, from the world of the fathers into the Ākāśa, from the Ākāśa into the Moon, who is the king Soma, therefore he is the sustenance of the gods, him the gods enjoy." After they have dwelt there, so long as any residuum is left, they return by the way they came, back again into the Ākāśa, from the Ākāśa into the wind; after they have become wind, they become smoke, after becoming smoke vapour, after becoming vapour cloud, after becoming cloud, they descend as rain; the same are born here below as rice and barley, as herbs and trees, as sesame and beans. Thence truly, it is more difficult to escape; for, only the man who eats him as food, who emits him as seed, only his increase (descendant) does he become. Now those whose conduct here was fair, for them is the prospect that they will come in a fair womb, the womb of a Brāhmaṇa, or a Kṣatriya or a Vaiśya; those however whose conduct here was foul, for them there is the prospect that they will come into a foul womb, a dog's womb, a sinner's womb or (even) into the womb of a Chāṇḍāla.

"But upon neither of these two ways are to be formed, those minute ever returning beings, who originate and

* Chhāndogya Upanisad V. 3.

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pass away as quickly as one says it bites. This is the third place."

Such is the theory of the Upaniṣads regarding the transmigration of souls. If the quotations given above have enabled the reader to form an idea of its leading features, he will be in a position to understand what the Hindu philosophers mean by Mokṣa or liberation. As nicely explained by Dr. Paul Deussen* 'liberation is nothing else than becoming one with Brahman or rather since the identity of the soul with Brahman has always subsisted and has only been hidden from it by illusion, liberation is nothing else but the awakening of the consciousness that our own self is identical with Brahman. Accordingly in liberation, there is no question of becoming something which does not already exist but only of the attainment of the knowledge of what has existed from all eternity. It is because of this that liberation is not accomplished through any sort of work, nor through moral improvement, but by knowledge alone."

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* The System of the Vedanta by Paul Deussen p. 363.

BOOK III.

THE ARYANS IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

PART I.

CHAPTER I.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF RĀMA.

The conquest of the country lying to the north of the Vindhya range having been completed, the Aryans next crossed the Vindhya range and established their sway over the country to its south. The work was undertaken and accomplished by a ruler of the same dynasty which had extended the Aryan sway upto the Bay of Bengal *viz.* the Solar dynasty and an account thereof has been preserved in one of the two great epics of India—the Rāmāyaṇa.

Before considering the details of the event described in the Rāmāyaṇa, it is necessary to refer to a theory regarding it propounded by Prof. Weber. The learned professor is of opinion that chronologically, the Rāmāyaṇa comes after and not before the Mahābhārata, for the colonisation of Southern India, he says, could have hardly begun until the settlement in Hindustan by the Aryans had been completed and feuds there had been fought out. He is prepared to admit that the warfare which forms the basis of the Mahābhārata, might have been waged concurrently with the expedition of other tribes to the south but evidently in his opinion the notion that the story of the Rāmāyaṇa is older than the story of the Mahābhāraṭa is out of question.

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The theory of Prof. Weber has been ably refuted by Mr. Vaidya in his book, 'the Riddle of the Rāmāyaṇa. Shortly stated, his view of the question is that though the present rescension of the Rāmāyaṇa is later than the Rāmopākhyāna of the Mahābhārata and the latter is later than the Daśaratha Jātaka, the last mentioned version which is the earliest extant book containing the germs of the story is later than the old original Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki. In support thereof, it may be stated that if the Rāmāyaṇa is merely an enlargement of the narrative in the Daśaratha Jātaka,–a Buddhist work,–chronologically, it would come after Pāṇini and Kātyāyana who flourished in the pre-Buddhistic period whereas their works show that they were familiar with the epic and the names Kausalyā and Kaikeyī have been explained in the Sūtras of the former. So also, the worship of Vedic deities, the great importance attached to sacrifice, the free eating of flesh by the Brāhmaṇas and the Kṣatriyas and the latter's proficiency in the Vedas and the Vedic rites all show a civilisation prior to Buddhism. To these arguments, we may be allowed to add that the genealogical dynasties given in the Purāṇas also point to the same conclusion or they all uniformly place Rāma before the Pāṇḍavas.*

Another question raised by the learned professor is whether the characters in the Rāmāyaṇa are fictitious or historical. According to him, while human interest preponderates everywhere in the Mahābhārata, to whom the possibility of historical existence cannot be denied, in the Rāmāyaṇa we find ourselves from the very outset, in the

*NOTE.—It is here necessary to state that Mr. Griffith and Prof. Hopkins are both of opinion that the story of Rāma is older than the story of the Mahābhārata (See the Introduction to the translation of the Rāmāyaṇa by Griffith and the Great Epic of India by Hopkins.)

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region of allegory and we only move upon historical grounds in so far as the allegory is applied to an historical fact *viz.* the spread of Aryan civilization towards the South, more especially to Ceylon. The characters, says he, are not real historical figures but mere personifications of certain occurrences and situations. Here too we must differ from him for, as mentioned above, Rāma is mentioned in many of the Purāṇas and his detailed genealogy is given which makes it impossible that his name should be either fictitious or allegorical.

Having thus noted, in brief, the theories regarding the Rāmāyaṇa started by Prof. Weber, we will resume the thread of our narrative. King Daśaratha, the father of Rāma, was the fourth in descent from Khaṭvāṅga with whom we closed our account of the Solar race. He had three queens, Kausalyā, Sumitrā and Kaikeyī but they were all childless. Vasiṣṭha the old and trusted priest of the family therefore advised the king to perform a sacrifice with the object of being blest with progeny. This was done and in course of time, Kausalyā gave birth to Rāma, Sumitrā to Lakṣmaṇa and Śatrughna and Kaikeyī to Bharata. They were carefully brought up and having been given a training in keeping with their exalted position, grew up to be brave and noble youths, versed in the Vedas and in the art of warfare. Rāma especially was conspicuous above the rest and consequently when he was only sixteen, his services were asked for by Viśvāmitra to drive off the Rākṣasas who were persistently annoying him in the performance of his sacrifices and who headed by Māricha, the son of Tāḍakā had laid waste the countries to the south of the confluence of the Ganges and the Sarayū, known as Malaja and Karūṣa. The successful manner in which he accomplished the work entrusted to him won for

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him the admiration of all and Viśvāmitra who himself was skilled in arms was so much pleased with his courage, that he presented to him certain celestial arms he possessed. He next took Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa with him to the court of Janaka the Videha and as they were going along the beautiful woodland scenery on the banks of the Sona, Viśvāmitra related to the brothers the deeds of their heroic ancestors, such as Sagara and Bhagīratha. At last, they reached the banks of the Ganges, and crossing it in a boat arrived at Viśāla.

"..... A town exceeding fair
That might with heaven itself compare."

Here they were treated hospitably by its ruler and after a short sojourn, went over to Mithilā, the capital of Janaka, who received them with great honour. Visvāmitra then explained to the king that he had brought over the princes to his court to show them the celestial bow he possessed and requested that the same may be shown to them. The king agreed and explained to them his intention to give his daughter Sītā to any person, who could wield it, adding that no prince had yet been able to lift it, much less to string it.

The bow was thereupon brought in the court and great was the surprise of all when Rāma lifting it up with ease, strung it and broke it into two. The scene is thus described in the Rāmāyaṇa :—

"Then Raghu's son as if in sport
Before the thousands of the court
The weapon by the middle raised
That all the crowd in wonder gazed
With steady arm, the string he drew
Till burst the mighty bow in two.
As snapped the bow, an awful clang
Loud as the shriek of tempests rang.
The earth affrighted shook amain
As when a hill is rent in twain.

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Then senseless at the fearful sound
The people fell upon the ground ;
None save the king, the princely pair
And the great saint, the shock could bear." *

The vow having been thus fulfilled, Janaka offered his daughter in marriage to Rāma and the nuptials were celebrated with due pomp. The brothers of Rāma were married to the daughters of prince Kuśadhvaja, the brother of king Janaka and the two houses thus became firmly united.

Time now rolled on swiftly when at last king Daśaratha, being old and worn out with the cares of the state resolved to entrust the management of his kingdom to Rāma. Before doing so, he however thought it fit to consult his subjects and the princes who owned his sway and the scene is thus graphically described in the Rāmāyaṇa.

From town and country far and near
He summoned people, prince and peer.
To each, he gave a meet abode
And honoured all and gifts bestowed
Then splendid in his king's attire
He viewed them as the general sire
In glory of a god arrayed
Looks on the creatures, he has made.*

The speech made by Daśaratha before those assembled is also instructive and full of interest. Said he,*

Needs not to you who know declare
How ever with paternal care
My fathers of Iksvāku's line
Have ruled the realm which now is mine
I too have taught my feet to tread
The pathway of the mighty deed
And with fond care that never slept
Have, as I could my people kept.
* * *
I long to rest my labour done
And in my place to set my son,
If to the twice born gathered here,
My counsel good and wise appear.

Griffith's Rāmāyaṇa.

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For greater gifts than mine adorn
Rāma, my son, my eldest born.

* * *

The Monarch ceased. In answer came
The joyous prince's glad acclaim
So peacocks in the rain rejoice
And hail the cloud with lifted voice
Murmurs of joy from thousands round,
Shook the high palace with the sound.

The king thereupon directed as follows :—

To-morrow with auspicious ray
The Moon in Pusya's sign will stay
Be that the time with happy fate
Mine eldest son to consecrate
And let my Rāma, lotus-eyed,
As regent o'er the state preside.

Preparations thereupon began to be made on a grand scale for the celebration of the event. Flags were hung on houses, streets were watered and scented with fragrance and all buildings illumined. The whole city assumed a gay and festive appearance and everywhere the coronation of Rāma was the chief topic of conversation.

There was however one person in whom the celebrations raised but gloomy thoughts. It was Manthara, the servant of Kaikeyī. The envious woman perceived that the elevation of Rāma meant the elevation of his mother Kauśalyā and the waning of the influence which her mistress exercised over the aged king. She explained this to Kaikeyī and advised her to ask the king to bestow the government on her son Bharata, reminding her that the king had once consented to grant her two boons and that this was the fittest opportunity to ask him to do so.

The queen agreed and consequently when on the night preceding the day on which the ceremony of the inauguration was to be performed, the king entered her apartments, he found her in a very excited state of mind. The king implored her to explain the reason thereof and the queen

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who was waiting for the opportunity, poured forth the thoughts which had been long troubling her agitated breast. She reminded him of the two boons he had promised and added that he should now grant the same by banishing Rāma and appointing Bharata in his place.

The request almost stupified the king. He never dreamt that Kaikeyī would be so selfish and so hard-hearted, he never thought that she would make such an unfair use of the promise he had made. In vain, he tried to point out to her the iniquity of the proposal; in vain he tried to dissuade her from her cruel purpose; she insisted on her wishes being fulfilled and as the king still was unwilling to assent to her proposal, she herself sent for Rāma as soon as the morning broke. Rāma came immediately but was surprised to find the king sunk in grief, with his voice choked and his eyes brimming with tears. He inquired of Kaikeyī the cause of the king's grief and she narrated to him the facts adding that if Rāma cared for the prestige of his father, he should relinquish the throne at once in favour of his brother Bharata and himself retire to the Daṇḍaka forest for 14 years.

It was a trying moment for Rāma but with a magnanimity characteristic of the race to which he belonged, he preferred to abdicate in favour of Bharata, rather than be the cause of his father breaking his word. He informed Kaikeyī accordingly and repaired thence to his mother, describing to her briefly the events that happened and adding that he had resolved to retire to the Daṇḍaka forest as desired by Kaikeyī. The news petrified her and she tried her best to dissuade him from the fatal course he had agreed to adopt but Rāma was firm and she had no alternative but to resign herself to her fate.

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Rāma next repaired to the apartment of Sītā who not dreaming of what had happened was anxiously waiting to see him come to her chamber adorned with all the insignia of royalty. Rāma however informed her of the turn which events had taken and of his final resolve to retire to the forests. Contrary to what might be expected, she bore the news quite courageously and far from being disheartened, requested Rāma—with a love that is the heritage of Indian ladies—to allow her to be a partner in his distress. The words she addressed to him are remarkable for their sincerity and pathos and we quote the same 'in extenso.'

"Whate'er his lot, 'tis far more sweet
To follow still a husband's feet
Than in rich palaces to lie
Or roam at pleasure through the sky.
My mother and my sire have taught
What duty bids and trained each thought
Nor have I now mine ear to turn
The duties of a wife to learn.
I'll seek with thee the woodland dell
And pathless wild where no men dwell.
Where tribes of silvan creatures roam
And many a tiger makes his home.
My life shall pass as pleasant there
As in my father's palace fair.
The world shall wake no care in me
My only care be truth to thee
There while thy wish I still obey,
True to my vows with thee, I'll stay.*

Rāma was not at first inclined to agree to her request and he narrated to her the difficulties and dangers of a forest life, but the loving wife expressed her readiness to undergo all these hardships rather than live without him and he yielded at last. Lakṣmaṇa expressed the same desire and Rāma having agreed to accept his offer also, they repaired to their father to obtain permis-

* Griffith's Rāmāyaṇa.

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sion to go. The king was mad with grief and in his frenzy asked Rāma to seize the throne by force but he refused to take such a course and after paying respects to the king and others, he left the precincts of the palace accompanied by Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa. Mounting then a chariot which was ready to take them to the confines of Ayodhyā territory, they soon disappeared amidst the tears and lamentations of the people.

Daśaratha did not long survive this tragic event and on the seventh day of their departure, the aged king breathed his last. Bharata had not still returned from the house of his maternal grand-father and envoys were therefore despatched to invite him home.

The route the envoys took is minutely discribed in the Rāmāyaṇa and as the details throw a very useful light over the geography of Ancient India, it appears necessary to refer to them at length. We are told that the messengers, well equipped for a long and hasty journey crossed the Mālinī river, to the north of Pralamba and the west of Apartāla, crossed the Ganges at Hastināpura and entered the Pāñchāla country and the Kurukṣetra. They then crossed the Śaradaṇḍā river, and bowing to the sacred tree on its banks, entered Kulingā town. Reaching Abhikāla, and leaving behind Tejobhivana, they crossed the Ikṣumatī which was the ancestral river of the Ikṣvākus. Marking Brahmins learned in the Vedas drink water with the palms of their hands, they passed through the county of the Bāhīkas and reached at last the mountain range of Sudāman on which was Viṣṇu's foot; to this, they bowed and crossing the Vipāśā, the Sālmalī and other rivers and traversing forests full of tigers and other wild animals, they at last reached Girivraja, Kekaya's capital at night.

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The way by which Bharata returned is also accurately described. "He started east, saw Sudāmā and the river of the same name and also the wide banked Hlādinī flowing west and crossed the Śatadrū at Ailadhāna. Reaching Aparparyaṭ and crossing the Śīlā and Akurvatī rivers, he went south-east to Śalyakartan and Āgneya and crossing high hills came into the Chaitraratha forest Reaching the Sarasvatī and the Ganges in twain he entered the Bhāruṇḍa forest to the north of the abode of the Vīramatsyas or the brave Matsya people. He then came to the Kalinga town surrounded by hills, and crossing the Yamunā gave rest to his army. He next crossed the Bhāgīrathī at Aṁśudhāna and thence came to the well-known town of Prāgvaṭ on the same river. From thence, crossing the Kuṭikoṣṭikā river, he came to Dharmavardhan. Coming to Toraṇ he turned southward and reached Jambuprastha and from thence went to Varūtha. From thence, he went eastward to the garden of Ujjihānā. Here he left his army and taking with him swift conveyance and horses and crossing the northgoing river, he came to Hastipṛṣṭhak and crossed the Kapīvatī and Lohitya, the Sthāṇumatī at Ekaśāla and the Gomatī at Vinata and the Sāl forest at Kalinga Nagara and reached Ayodhyā after seven days and nights."

As he entered the city, he found it cheerless and steeped in melancholy. He therefore hastened to see his mother who after receiving him with great affection communicated to him the news of the king's death, of the banishment of Rāma and of the decision of the late king to inaugurate him to the throne. Bharata had too great a respect for Rāma to be elated by the news and remonstrated strongly with her for the unwise action she had taken. He narrated to her the noble character of Rāma,

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how he had always treated her with respect and affection, how difficult it would be for him to bear the burden of the state without him and concluded by saying that he would himself go to the forests and persuade Rāma to come back. He had however first to attend to the funeral obsequies of his father and after he had performed these with a heavy heart, he set out with an army to invite Rāma back to Ayodhyā.

Rāma was at that time staying at Chitrakūṭa on the other side of the Yamunā. Bharata therefore went to Śṛṅgavera which was ruled by Guha, a Niṣāda king on friendly terms with the dynasty of Ayodhyā and crossing the Ganges by means of boats supplied by that chief, he reached the place where the river unites with the Yamunā. He then crossed the last mentioned river and reached the abode of Rāma. He then communicated to Rāma the news of the king's death and requested him to return to his kingdom saying that it rightfully belonged to him. Rāma however was still firm in his resolve and expressed his unwillingness to return to Ayodhyā and thus break his father's word. Finding it fruitless to expostulate any more on the subject with him, Bharata entreated Rāma to give him his sandals so that he may place them near the throne in his stead, and rule Ayodhyā as his regent. Rāma complied therewith and Bharata returned to the capital.

Seeing that his place of residence was too near his native place and apprehending frequent visits from his relations, Rāma thought it advisable to proceed further south and visited the various hermitages established by Ṛṣis in these distant parts. He as well as his companions were everywhere given a hearty welcome for the aboriginal tribes in the neighbourhood were harassing them

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incessantly and the presence of Rāma was to them a great advantage. At last, stage by stage, they reached Daṇḍakāraṇya and after a short stay at the place, they established themselves on the banks of the Godāvarī, in conformity with the advice of Agastya who had settled in that part.

The spot they selected for their residence is thus described by Rāma :—

'Mark the spot' so answered Rama, leading Laksman by the hand
Soft the lawn of verdant kus'a, beauteous blossoms light the land.
Mark the smiling lake of lotus gleaming with a radiance fair
Wafting fresh and gentle fragrance o'er the rich and laden air.
Mark each scented shrub and creeper bending o'er the lucid wave,
Where the bank with soft caresses Godāvarī's waters lave.
Tuneful ducks frequent this margin, Chakravākas breathe of love
And the timid deer of jungle browse within the shady grove.
And the valleys are resonant with the peacock's clarion cry
And the trees with budding blossoms glitter on the mountain high.
And the rocks in well marked strata in their glittering lines appear
Like the streaks of white and crimson painted on our tuskers fair.*

They were passing away their days in peace and quietude in this solitary spot when once Sūrpaṇakhā, the sister of Rāvaṇa chanced to see Rāma and was so enamoured of him that she offered to marry him. Rāma told her that he had a wife already and it was not possible for him to comply with her wishes. He however referred her to Lakṣmaṇa adding that he was a bachelor and may accept her offer. She therefore turned towards him but he too refused and added evidently in jest that she may ask Rāma to have her as his second wife. Sūrpaṇakhā however took him at his word and rushed towards Sītā that she would devour her and then live with Rāma without a rival but Rāma checked her in her frantic effort and seizing her, handed her over to Lakṣmaṇa who cut off her nose and ears and turned her away.

* Dutt's Rāmāyaṇa condensed into English verse.

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Disappointed and disfigured, Sūrpaṇakhā ran back to her companions and narrated to them in detail the story of the indignity offered to her. They got infuriated on account of the treatment offered to her, and poured forth in large numbers, shouting and screaming to wreak vengeance upon those who had dared to mutilate one of their own members. Rāma and his brother were however quite prepared for the contingency and putting Sītā in a safe place, they secured a position of advantage from which they greeted their opponents with such an incessant charge of arrows that the Rākṣasas not accustomed to such a warfare fled and their leaders Khara and Dūṣaṇa were slain.

Foiled in her attempt, Sūrpaṇakhā had recourse to a more clever device. She repaired to her brother and described to him Sītā's beauty. Rāvaṇa although he had already a thousand wives conceived a passion for her and determined to get her by force, if necessary. He therefore proceeded to a place where Rāma and his companions were staying accompanied by Mārīcha. On coming to the place, he found that Rāma had left the hermitage to get for Sītā a deer which was roaming at some distance from the hermitage and for which she had taken a strong fancy. The deer bounded away at great speed and Rāma who was hotly pursuing it, disappeared in the woods. A short time after, a cry was heard as of a person in distress and Sītā thinking it to be Rāma's asked Lakṣmaṇa to run to his rescue. Lakṣmaṇa tried his best to persuade her that her fears were unfounded but Sītā insisted on his going. Lakṣmaṇa had thus no other course open to him and much against his will, he left the hermitage, leaving Sītā to take care of herself.

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He was scarcely out of sight when Rāvaṇa who was lurking in the neighbourhood appeared before Sītā, clad in a devotee's garb and Sītā not suspecting any trick received him with great hospitality. Rāvaṇa however soon cleared up the mystery, told her that he was charmed with her peerless beauty and that he wanted to make her his chief queen, adding that if she did not consent he would take her away by force. Dismayed at this strange revelation, Sītā tried her best to persuade him to desist from his ignoble purpose and related to him the disastrous consequences that would follow such a ruthless action but Rāvaṇa was too enamoured of her to attend to her advice and seeing that any peaceful efforts were unavailing, he caught hold of her by force and putting her in his chariot drove off to his capital, Laṅkā.

When Rāma returned, he found the hermitage empty. He made the necessary inquiry and searched every nook and corner but all his efforts were unavailing. At last, he came to know what had happened from Jatāyu who was an eye witness of the affair. The news, as was only natural, completely unnerved him and he sank into grief mourning bitterly the loss of one whom he had loved so well and who so well deserved his affection. Lakṣmaṇa however succeeded in comforting him after a great effort and as soon as he recovered his peace of mind, he resolved to invade Laṅkā to recover his beloved wife from the hands of the tyrant.

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CHAPTER II.

THE CROSSING OF THE VINDHYA RANGE.

Circumstances were fortunately favourable to Rāma's expedition, for in the country immediately in the vicinity of his abode, a native ruler Sugrīva had been dispossessed by his elder brother Vālī and he was thirsting to have his revenge and to win back the kingdom he had lost. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa happened to see him as he was passing his days in his place of refuge, brooding upon the wrongs done to him and agreed to help him in his attempt, if he in return promised to help him in the work of recovering Sītā. Sugrīva consented and encouraged by this alliance, he renewed his hostility with his brother and challenged him to meet himself in open combat.

Vālī was too conscious of his strength and prowess to refuse the offer and came out of his capital for the fatal combat. Sugrīva was at first successful but Vāli made a desperate attempt to retrieve his position and having succeeded, gave Sugrīva a blow which levelled him to the ground and would have led to his death, had it not been that in conformity with a plan they had previously settled, Rāma who was watching the fight from a distance aimed at Vālī an arrow which pierced his body. The sturdy warrior fell down upon the ground and soon breathed his last, amidst the tears of his wife and his courtiers.

Sugrīva was now consecrated king in the place of his brother and agreed to share his kingdom with Aṅgada, the son of Vāli, in accordance with the advice of Rāma. He requested Rāma and his brother to stay with him in his capital but Rāma preferred to retire to a solitary place

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and to stay there during the rainy season. We have a vivid description of the monsoon in this part of the country, in the Rāmāyaṇa as will appear from the quotation given below from Mr. Dutts' translation.

"Mark the shadowing rain and tempest," Rama to his brother said,
As on Mālya's cloud capped ranges in their hermit-guise they strayed.
"Massive clouds like rolling mountains gather thick and gather high.
Lurid lightnings glint and sparkle, pealing thunders shake the sky.
Pregnant with the ocean moisture by the solar ray instilled
Now the skies like fruitful mothers are with grateful waters filled.
Mark the folds of cloudy masses, ladder like of smooth ascent
One could almost reach the Sun-god, wreathe him with a wreath of scent.
And when glow these heavy masses, red and white with evening's glow.
One could almost deem their sword branded by some heavenly foe.
Mark the streams of golden lustre, lighting up the checkered sky
Like a lover chandan painted, in each breeze it heaves a sigh
And the earth is hot and feverish moistened with the tears of rain
Sighing like my anguished Sītā when she wept in woe and pain.

As soon as the rains were over, Rāma began to make preparations for his expedition and despatched Lakṣmaṇa to remind Sugrīva of his promise for help. The grateful chief expressed his willingness to help and as the first work he had to do was to ascertain the whereabouts of Sītā, he despatched various persons in different directions in quest of her.

Of these, Hanumān who was sent to the south succeeded in his attempt and discovered that she had been confined by Rāvaṇa in a garden of Aśoka trees. There she was passing her days in melancholy, surrounded by a guard of Rākṣasa women and had lost all hopes of being freed from her captivity. The pleasure which she felt on seeing a messenger from Rāma could thus be well imagined. She anxiously inquired about the health of her husband and her bosom heaved with delight when she heard from Hanumān that Rāma loved her as well as before and that he was making preparations to effect her rescue.

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With indescribable pleasure, she took from him the token Rāma had sent and in return gave him another for being taken to her husband.

Rāvaṇa was soon apprised of all that had happened and seeing that matters had now come to a crisis convened a council of his chieftains to decide the final course of action. They were unanimously in favour of a war, the only dissentient voice being that of Vibhīṣaṇa, the youngest brother of Rāvaṇa. He condemned the idea of such an unrighteous action and urged that the best course was to restore Sītā and to make peace with Rāma. His advice was however disregarded and having been turned away from the court, he joined the forces of Rāma and proved a very useful ally.

Rāma now prepared himself for war and having crossed over to Laṅkā, with some difficulty laid siege to the city. A sanguinary war began in which the Rākṣasas were at first successful and countless men of Rāma's allies were slain. In fact, it was not until Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa came to the front and bore the brunt of the attack that the carnage was stayed. The Rākṣasas then began to flee in all directions and the confusion ended only when Indrajit, the son of Rāvaṇa, appeared on the field of battle. He was a great warrior, skilled in the use of all weapons of war of the time and after a desperate struggle, succeeded in overpowering both the brothers and they fell senseless on the ground.

As was but natural, the event almost petrified the allies of Rāma and they were at a loss to know what further steps to take in the matter. At last Sugrīva suggested the idea of bringing some herbs to heal their wounds and to restore their senses and the idea having been approved, the swiftest among his army were sent

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to get these. Before they returned, however, Garuḍa, the king of birds appeared on the scene and at his mere appearance, the princes recovered; for the arrows which had pierced the body of the two heroes were, the poet tells us, transformed serpents who let loose their grasp, the moment they saw that bird, wellknown in Hindu legends, to be their deadly enemy.

Victory however continued to favour the Rākṣasas and Lakṣmaṇa was once more overpowered. Disheartened at these repeated reverses, Rāma made a desperate attack on the Rākṣasas and fortunately, his efforts were crowned with success and the Rākṣasas fled from the battle-field. Rāvaṇa, thereupon, implored his brother Kumbhakarṇa to come to his help. Though brave and strong, Kumbhakarṇa was extremely lazy and generally used to pass his time in sleep. To rouse him to activity was a difficult task but Rāvaṇa succeeded after some trouble in doing so and persuaded him to take the field. So huge was his body that the followers of Sugrīva took fright at his mere appearance and began to flee but Aṅgada appealed to their sense of honour, exhorted them not to act like cowards and succeeded after all in inspiring confidence among them. Fortune was however still against them and one man after another of the army of Rāma fell dead upon the ground. Flushed with success, Kumbhakarṇa rushed towards the part of the field occupied by Lakṣmaṇa and challenged him to fight. Lakṣmaṇa accepted the offer and a violent struggle ensued. At last an arrow from Lakṣmaṇa's bow pierced the body of his opponent and he fell down—a lifeless corpse.

The burden of the struggle now fell once more on Indrajit and on his taking the field, the battle was resumed in all its fury. Once more, both Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa

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were defeated and they fell staggering on the battle-field. They were however restored to their senses by the application of herbs and took the field again the moment they recovered. Seeing that his efforts were not quite successful, Indrajit now resorted to a clever stratagem for unnerving his opponents. He had an exact effigy made of Sītā which he brought on the battle-field and then cut it into twain within the sight of Rāma and his brother. So exact was the likeness that both the brothers thought that the enemy had put to death the person for whom they were undergoing all this trouble and were just inclined to give up the struggle, in despair, when Vibhīsaṇa explained to them that it was impossible for Indrajit to kill the woman of whom his father was so much enamoured, adding that his only object in so doing must be to dishearten them and to induce them to retire from the field. He also informed them that Indrajit wanted to perform a sacrifice for obtaining certain weapons and that it was of the utmost importance that he should be prevented from doing so. Rāma saw the force of Vibhīsaṇa's counsel and without losing more time sent him and Lakṣmaṇa to the place where Indrajit was making preparations to celebrate the sacrifice. The two warriors were immediately engaged in close combat and victory favoured sometimes the one and sometimes the other but at last Lakṣmaṇa seizing a favourable opportunity cut off the head of his opponent with an arrow and struck him dead.

The news of Indrajit's death came to Rāvaṇa like a shock and in a fit of anger and disappointment he rushed towards the place where Sītā was confined to put her to death but the female guards who waited on her interceded on her behalf and dissuaded him from putting his foul design into execution. He however vowed vengeance on

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those who had deprived him of his dear brother and son, and collecting all his resources prepared for a bloody warfare. A gruesome battle again commenced and Rāvaṇa rushed into the heart of the enemy's army, slaying a large number of them. He next encountered his brother and after some angry words had passed between them, they became engaged in close combat. Rāvaṇa was however the stronger of the two and seizing an opportunity, hurled at him a javelin which would have inevitably caused his death, had not Lakṣmaṇa by a good aim warded off the stroke. Vibhīṣaṇa was saved, but Rāvaṇa turned sharply on his new opponent—the person responsible for the death of his dearest son—and hurled at him a Śakti which made Lakṣmaṇa fall senseless on the ground. The Rākṣas king now felt triumphant but his success proved short-lived for before he can pursue it further, Rāma confronted him in the field of battle and Rāvaṇa who was feeling exhausted and who was fighting on his legs, his horses having been killed and his chariot shattered to pieces, found safety in fleeing from the battle-field.

As the reader must have noticed, Lakṣmaṇa had been overpowered for the third time but the life restoring herbs cured him once more. Rāma however saw that it was no longer advisable to trust the field to him, and he himself assumed the command of his army. Rāvaṇa too was prepared and the final struggle began. As the poet says :—

Gods and mortals watched the contest and the heroes of the war
Rāvaṇ speeding on his chariot, Rāma on the heavenly car
Clouds of dread and deathful arrows hid the radiant face of sky
Darker grew the day of combat, fiercer grew the contest high.
Long the dubious battle lasted, shook the ocean, hill and dale
Winds were hushed in voiceless terror and the lurid Sun was pale.
Still the dubious battle lasted, until Rāma in his ire
Wielded Brahman's deathful weapon flaming with celestial fire.

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Weapon which the saint Agastya had unto the hero given
Winged as lightning dart of Indra, fatal as the bolt of heaven.
Wrapped in smoke and flaming flashes—speeding from the circled bow
Pierced the iron heart of Rāvan lain the lifeless hero low.
And a cry of pain and terror from the Rākṣas ranks arose
And a shout from joying Vānars as they smote their fleeing foes.*

Thus ended the great war waged in Ceylon by Rāma. Without wasting more time, he installed Vibhīṣaṇa on the throne and sent Hanumān to convey to Sītā, the tidings of her release. The unfortunate woman was scarcely able to trust her ears, but on Hanumān narrating to her the details, she hastened to see her lord. Contrary to what every one expected, Rāma received her very coldly. "I have done" said he "what a brave man ought to do and have together wiped off my enemy and my disgrace. I have fulfilled my vow and rescued thee from confinement. The great deed of Hanumān in jumping across the sea and entering Laṅkā has indeed borne fruit now and so indeed have the valour of Sugrīva and the friendship of Vibhīṣaṇa. But remember all this was done in order to vindicate my honour and the honour of the great Sun race. As to thee, thy sight does not please me now as that of a lamp does not him whose eyes are sore. Go wherever it pleases thee for what honourable man will take back a wife defiled by long stay in another's house." Words more harsh, more imprudent could hardly have been addressed to a wife so gentle and so loving as Sītā and in her despair, she asked Lakṣmaṇa to prepare for herself a pile of faggots for burning herself. Lakṣmaṇa turned his eyes towards Rāma and seeing that he was not against the course being adopted acted up to Sītā's wishes and she threw herself in the fire. To the great astonishment of all, they found that the fire did not consume her

* R. C. Dutt's Rāmāyaṇa translated into English verse.

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at all and she came out therefrom secure and uninjured. Having thus stood the most severe test, Rāma received her back with joy to the great pleasure of all his friends and as the twelve years of exile were now over, he returned to Ayodhyā with Sītā, Sugrīva and other chieftains, notably Hanumān.

As regards the date of this war, opinions differ considerably. Bentley in an elaborate article regarding eras and dates in volume V of the Asiatic Researches places Rāma in 1249 B.C. Wilford in an article regarding the chronology of the Hindus in the same volume places Rāma between 1600 to 1700 B.C., while Sir William Jones places him in the year 2029 B.C. Gorresio observes as follows on the same subject. "The Rāmāyaṇa is mentioned in the Rājataraṅgiṇī. Dāmodara, the second of that name among the kings of Kashmir, was cursed by certain Brāhmans and the malediction was to cease on the day on which he should hear the entire Rāmāyaṇa recited. Now Dāmodara the second in the series of the kings of Kashmir precedes by five kings, Gonarda the third, who according to the computation of M. Troyer, the sagacious and learned translator and commentator of the history of Kashmir, is said to be placed in the year 1182 B.C. Reckoning backward from this point to Dāmodara, the second through an interval of five reigns, the average duration of each of which is about 24 years, we arrive at the beginning of the 14th century before the Christian era. I am far from wishing to attribute any great precision to these chronological computations nor do I pretend to determine exactly the age of the Rāmāyaṇa but I maintain that from the passage of the Rājataraṅgiṇī cited, the remote antiquity of the poem may with all confidence be inferred."

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It must be said that these estimates are much below the mark because according to the best authorities, the Mahābhārata war was fought about the 14th Century B. C. and as from the Purāṇas, it appears that thirty generations elapsed between it and the wars of Rāma, the latter must be placed considerably earlier. We may therefore with great probability accept the date of the event as given in Rājāvaliya, a Sinhalese work, which fixes it to be 1844 years before Gautama Buddha entered on his mission, that is, about 2370 B. C. The arguments in favour of this date are that the Rājāvali being a Sinhalese work is the book to which we should look for the date of the event. Again, the date is not mentioned in round numbers and from this we may infer that the writer of the book has quoted the date from sources which had exactly computed the date. Lastly, it may be mentioned that the Epic period begins where the Brāhmaṇa period ends and as the date of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa is not later than 2500 B. C.,* the date of 2370 B. C. for the Rāmāyaṇa would not be inappropriate.

During the time of the exile of Rāma, Bharata had ruled the kingdom entrusted to his charge with great tact and wisdom, and had added to the ancestral possessions the country of the Gandharvas after destroying vast numbers of them in battle. Śatrughna too had founded the city of Mathurā after vanquishing Lavaṇa, a descendant of Madhu. The power of the dynasty having thus much increased, they celebrated the horse sacrifice, as a mark of their supremacy, soon after the return of Rāma and then "having by their unequalled valour and might rescued the whole world from the dominion of malignant fiends,

* Mr. Tilak in the Arctic Home in the Vedas.

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Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Bharata and Śatrughna reascended to heaven."

The vast kingdom they possessed was now parcelled out among their children. Lava and Kuśa, the sons of Rāma ruled at Ayodhyā and the two sons of Bharata *viz.* Takṣa and Puṣkara were conferred the sovereignty of Gandhāra, where they founded Takṣasilā and Puṣkarāvati respectively. Subāhu and Śūrasena, the sons of Śatrughna were allotted the country round about Mathura and Aṅgada and Chandraketu, the region near the Himālayas.

A long line of rulers from Kuśa downwards is given in the Purāṇas but the reigns of these princes were generally uneventful.

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CHAPTER III.

THE HISTORY OF THE YĀDAVAS, THE PAURAVAS AND THE DESCENDANTS OF ANU.

Of dynasties, other than the Solar dynasty, whose history we have given in Book II, the line of Amāvasu ended as we have seen with Viśvāmitra and that of the Haihayas with Vṛṣṇi, on his power being broken by Pratardana of the Kāśi line. In the Videha line, Janaka the father of Sītā having died without a male heir, the kingdom passed to the son of his brother Kuśadhvaja and a long line of descendants from him is given but no record of the events that happened in their reigns has been preserved. The dynasty founded by Diṣṭa ended with Pramati king of Vaiśālī and the Kāśi line with Bharga. The only dynasties besides the Solar dynasty that continued to play an important part were the Yādavas, the Pauravas and the descendants of Anu.

To begin with the Yādava dynasty, Satvata with whom we closed our account had six sons, Bhajin, Bhajamāna, Divya, Andhaka, Devāvṛdha, Mahābhoja and Vṛṣṇi. Of these, Devāvṛdha had a son named Babhru, and he as well as his father are said to be the founders of a certain school but no particulars about it are furnished. Mahābhoja was the ancestor of the Bhojas, the princes of Mṛttikāvatī, situated on the Parṇāśā river according to the Brahma Purāṇa, and supposed to be a river in Mālwā by Dr. Wilson. Vṛṣṇi had two sons, Sumitra and Yudhājit, of whom, the former had two sons Anamitra

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and Śini. Anamitra had a son named Nighna and he had two sons Prasena and Sattrājita.

It is said that when Sattrājita was walking along the seashore, he sung hymns in praise of Sūrya and prayed to him to show himself in his true form. Sūrya thereupon took the jewel called Syamantaka from off his neck with the result that he looked to be a dwarfish stature with a face like that of burnished copper, and with slightly reddish eyes. Dazzled with the splendour of the jewel, Sattrājita requested that it may be given to him and Sūrya who was pleased with his devotion granted his request, so that when he returned to his capital, decked with it, he looked as bright as the Sun himself. The Purāṇas then go on to give incidental stories about its transfer from Sattrājita to his brothers Prasena and from him to a lion and to the king of bears and ultimately to Śatadhanvan and Akrūra of the Yādavas but it would be hardly appropriate to refer to them here at length and we will resume the thread of our narrative.

Śini the younger brother of Anamitra, had a son named Satyaka and the latter a son named Yuyudhāna also known as Sātyaki, after the name of his father. A number of other members of the family of Śini and Anamitra are mentioned but they have no historical interest.

Andhaka had four sons of whom Kukura was the eldest. He had a son named Vṛṣṇi and the sixth in descent from him was Āhuka who had two sons Devaka and Ugrasena. The former had a daughter named Devakī besides six other daughters and sons while Ugrasena had five daughters and nine sons of whom one was Kaṁsa. Kaṁsa was thus the maternal uncle of Śri Kṛṣṇa and the feud between them forms a very prominent chapter in the life history of the latter.

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Bhajamāna, the second son of Andhaka had a son named Vidūratha and Śūra the seventh in descent from him had ten sons, of whom one was Vasudeva, the father of Kṛṣṇa. He had also four daughters, of whom the first Śrutadeva married a Kārūṣa prince Vṛddhaśarman and had a son named Dantavaktra who became known for his ferocity. Another Śrūtakīrtti married Dhṛṣṭaketu, the king of the Kekayas. His third daughter Śrutaśravas married Damaghoṣa, the king of Chedi and had by her a son named Śiśupāla who figures prominently in the Mahābhārata. The fourth Rājādhidevī married Jayasena, king of Avanti while the last Pṛtha was presented by her father to his friend Kuntibhoja and was given by him in marriage to Pāṇḍu and became the mother of Yudhiṣṭhira, Bhīma and Arjuna.

In Anu's line, Champa who founded Champā was succeeded by Haryaṅga and the fifth in descent from him was Jayadratha who married a woman of the inferior caste and his descendants therefore became known as Sūta putras after him. The most famous king of the line was Karṇa who although he was in fact a son of Kuntī and the brother of the Pāṇḍavas was born when Kuntī was yet unmarried. He was therefore cast away and brought up by Adhiratha and his wife Rādhā and was known as their son till Kuntī on the eve of the Mahābhārata war disclosed his true parentage. He was a great warrior, a magnanimous king and the trusted adviser of king Duryodhana.

We will now give the history of the descendants of Ajamīḍha the last ruler of the Paurava dynasty noticed in Chapter V, Book II. The names of a number of his descendants have been preserved but nothing special is recorded of any of them until we come to Nīpa, the tenth in descent

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from him. He had a hundred sons of whom Samara was the ruler of Kāmpilya, the capital of the South Pañchala country situated in the Doab. The fifth in succession from him was Anuha. He married Kṛtvī, the daughter of Śuka, the son of Vyāsa and had by her a son named Brahmadatta, the composer of a treatise on Yoga. According to the Harivaṁśa, Brahmadatta with six companions of his are said to have been born successively as Brāhmaṇas, foresters, deers, water-fowls and Brāhmaṇas again and then they attained salvation.

There is some confusion in the Purāṇas regarding the successors of Brahmadatta. According to the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, the line ended with Bhallāṭa and the Harivaṁśa adds that he was killed by Karṇa. The Matsya Purāṇa however adds one more name *viz.* that of Janamejaya and states that in his reign, the whole Nīpa race of Kṣatriyas was destroyed by Ugrāyudha, a descendant of Dvimīḍha.

Ajamīḍha had a son named Nīla by a wife called Nīlinī and the fifth in descent from him was Haryaśva who had five sons, the chief among whom was Mudgala, the ancestor of the Maudgalya Brahmins. He had a son named Badhryaśva who had two children—a son and a daughter named Divodāsa and Ahalyā. The daughter was married to Śatānanda and had by him a son Satyadhṛti who became known for his proficiency in military science. The Purāṇas also give an interesting story about him to the effect that he had by the celestial nymph Urvaśī two children but as their birth was illegitimate, they were put in a basket and removed to a thicket of grass where they were found by Śāntanu when he happened to go there on a hunting expedition. Taking compassion on them, he took

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them home, brought them up and in allusion to the compassion which led Śāntanu to do so, they became known as Kṛpa and Kṛpī.

Divodāsa ,the brother of Ahalyā had a son named Mitrāyu, the ancestor of the Maitreya Brāhmaṇas. Another member of the family who may be noticed here is Somaka the fourth in descent from him. He had a hundred sons among whom was Pṛṣata, the father of Drupada. This last mentioned king was, as is well known, the father of Draupadī and he had also a son Dhṛṣṭadyumna. He had a son Dhṛṣṭaketu and with him, the line of the dynasty terminated.

Ajamīḍha had also a son Ṛkṣa and the latter had a grandson Kuru, the ancestor of the Kauravas. He had many sons, chief among whom was Sudhanus from whom was descended Uparichara, the Vasu the founder of the powerful kingdom of Chedi and Magadha and he had a son Bṛhadratha who succeeded to the kingdom of Magadha. In the reign of his son Jarāsandha, the dynasty attained the zenith of its glory, for he was a very powerful king who subdued all the neighbouring kings and was, as we shall see in a subsequent chapter, even a source of trouble to the Pāṇḍavas. The line of Magadha kings terminated with Jantu, the fifth in descent from him.

Besides Sudhanus, Kuru had a son Jahnu whose tenth successor was Śantanu. He had an elder brother Devāpi but the latter having adopted an ascetic life, he succeeded to the kingdom of his father.

The reign of Śantanu was marked by a great famine whose effect lasted for a period of twelve years. Anxious to drive the famine away, Śantanu enquired of the Brāhmaṇas the reason for the calamity and they attributed it to the fact that he had occupied the throne although his elder

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brother was alive. Śantanu thereupon expressed his readiness to hand over the reigns of government to his brother and as he was staying in the forests, repaired there for the purpose. Devāpi had however turned away from the right path and in a discussion with the learned men of the time, questioned the authority of the Vedas. They therefore told Śantanu that by doing so, he had forfeited his right to the kingdom and that it would not be thenceforth illegal on his part, to retain the reigns of government in his hands. Śantanu therefore returned to his capital and as the illegality in the succession was removed, found that the famine had disappeared with it.

Śantanu had three sons *viz.* Bhīṣma, born of Gaṅgā, Vichitravīrya by his wife Satyavatī, and Chitrāṅgada who was killed in an encounter with the Gandharvas while he was yet a youth. Before she married Śantanu, Satyavatī had also a son, the celebrated Vyāsa by the Ṛṣi Parāśara who was enamoured of her, when he was travelling with her in a boat. Vichitravīrya married Ambikā and Ambālikā, daughters of the king of Kāśi but he died, without any child, of consumption caused by extreme indulgence in sensual pleasures and Kṛṣṇa Dwaipāyana Vyāsa therefore begot Pāṇḍu and Dhṛtarāstra, on the widows of his brother and Vidura, on a female servant.

We are now in a position to follow the history of the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas given in such details in the Mahābhārata but before doing so, we may stop to consider the synchronisms relating to the dynasties whose history has been given above. The first is that of Daśaratha, the father of Rāma who, according to the Rāmāyaṇa, was a contemporary of king Lomapāda (also called Romapāda) of Aṅga, king Sumati of Vaiśāli and, as is only well known, of Sīradhvaja, the father of Sītā. The

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next synchronism is that furnished by the story of Śatrughna's conquest of the kingdom of Madhu. As mentioned before, he founded the city of Mathurā on the site of the Madhuvana but it was recovered by Bhīma on behalf of the Yādavas so that according to the Harivaṁśa Andhaka was reigning there when Rāma's son Kuśa was reigning in Kośala. From this, it follows that Andhaka and Kuśa were contemporaries. Again, Bhajamāna the son of Satvata of the Yādava dynasty is said in the Harivaṁśa to have married a daughter of Sṛñjaya who may be identified with the ruler of that name of the north Pañchāla dynasty so that it would make Satvata and Sṛñjaya contemporaries. Again, the son of Ṛkṣa of the Kaurava dynasty is mentioned in the Ṛgveda* to be on friendly terms with Indrota, the son of Atithigva, another name of Divodāsa and Ṛkṣa may therefore be equated with Divodāsa. Again, according to the Harivaṁśa,† Brahmadatta of the South Pañchāla dynasty and Pratīpa of the Lunar dynasty flourished at the same time and were thus contemporaries. So also Kṛta of Dvimīḍha's line is said to have learnt the principles of Yoga philosophy from the Solar king, Hiraṇyanābha$ and from this, it follows that he was a younger contemporary of the latter. Again, Ugrāyudha of the same dynasty is stated by the same authority to have destroyed the Nīpa race of Kṣatriyas* and was in his turn put to death by Bhīṣma, for having demanded, in marriage, the widow of Śantanu. He was therefore a younger contemporary of Bhīṣma. Lastly, according to the Mahābhārata, Dhṛtarāṣṭra, the father of Duryodhana and Drupada, the father-in-law of the Pāṇḍavas would be contemporaries as well as Kṛṣṇa, the Pāṇḍavas and Dhṛṣṭadyumna, the son of Drupada.

* VIII 68 (57) 15-17.

† 20-1047-8.

$ Viṣṇu Purāṇa IV 4 and 19.

* Viṣṇu P. IV. 19.

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CHAPTER IV.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE PĀṆḌAVAS AND THE KAURAVAS.

Dhṛtarāṣṭra being blind did not succeed to the throne of his father and the kingship thereupon vested in his brother Pāṇḍu. Pāṇḍu however did not long occupy the throne for he died soon after, and as his sons and the Kauravas were young, Dhṛtarāṣṭra took over the reins of government in his hand and managed the administration with the advice of Bhīṣma and Kṛpāchārya. He also entrusted the education of his children as well as of the Pāṇḍavas to Droṇāchārya, a Brāhmaṇa learned in the Vedas and a perfect master of archery and the art of warfare.

It was when they were studying together that the first symptoms of rivalry which ultimately ended in such a terrible war manifested themselves. For, of the two, the Pāṇḍavas were the more intelligent and each of them attained great proficiency in one subject or another, the progress of Bhīma, Arjuna and Sahadeva being especially remarkable. Among the Kauravas, on the other hand, Duryodhana was the only one to distinguish himself. He however made up for the deficiency of his brothers by contracting a life-long friendship with Karṇa, the son of Adhiratha, in the line of Anu, who was as proficient in the art of archery as Arjuna.

On the period of their study being over and the princes having acquired knowledge suitable to their high position, Droṇa reported the matter to Dhṛtarāṣṭra and suggested that a tournament may be held to test the knowledge the young princes had acquired. This was agreed to

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and grand preparations were made for the occasion. Veteran warriors, able chieftains and members of the royal household were invited to be present and even blind Dhṛtarāṣṭra attended the gathering with his wife Gāndhārī and Kuntī, the wife of his deceased brother.

The contest began with a duel between Bhīma and Duryodhana and it became soon apparent that they both took it more seriously than they should, for both of them were great experts in the art of wielding the mace and they rushed at each other with the fury of mad elephants and parried blows in quick succession. Now one, now the other, appeared to obtain the upper hand but nothing daunted, they continued to fight in all earnest until it seemed as if the contest would not end until one had got rid of the other. Droṇa perceived it and anxious to avert such a tragic end asked his son Aśvatthāmā to separate the brave and youthful princes. This was done and both Bhīma and Duryodhana returned to their seats, each warmly applauded by his set of admirers in the assemblage.

It was now Arjuna's turn to show his prowess and a roar of admiration arose as he entered the lists clad in golden armour and armed with his powerful bow—young, handsome and energetic. For a time, Duryodhana felt humiliated, as there was none among his brothers who could have ventured to try his skill with him but fortunately for him, Karṇa at this time entered the place and proudly challenged Arjuna to fight. Arjuna was of course quite prepared to accept it but Kṛpāchārya knowing that a deadly conflict would once more issue, told Karṇa that before the challenge could be accepted, he must let them know his lineage, as according to the rules of such a kind of warfare, a Kṣatriya may only fight with his equal. Karṇa stood abashed but Duryodhana retorted saying

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that according to the Śāstras, a king is either one who is born in a noble dynasty or who is brave or who is the leader of an army. However, if Arjuna was not inclined to fight with him on this technical ground, he added, he would crown Karṇa on the spot and thus remove the bar which stood in his way. He then proceeded to put his words into execution and made him king of Aṅga.

The ceremony however took some time and evening fell before the contest between them could be begun. All therefore returned to their homes, some praising Duryodhana, some Karṇa and some Arjuna. On his own part, Karṇa thanked his benefactor for the honour done to him and vowed eternal friendship with him—a vow which he kept admirably, for, as we shall see later on, of the brilliant galaxy of warriors who fought on the side of Duryodhana, Karṇa was the only person who fought with all his might, never swerving in his loyalty and always ready to stand by his friend, in the hour of direst calamity.

Droṇāchārya now claimed the reward for his services and directed the youthful princes to invade the territory of Drupada, the king of the Pañchālas and to bring him before himself, bound hand and foot. The reasons for this strange behest were as follows :—Droṇa was taking his education under a Ṛṣi named Agnirasa, when Drupada, then young, was sent by his father to be educated under the same master. As he had here only the company of Droṇa, they became great friends and Drupada promised that on his succeeding to the throne, he would give Droṇa, a portion of the kingdom. They then separated and a son Aśvatthāmā was born to Droṇa, of his wife Kṛpī. Once he was playing with boys of his age when seeing them taking milk, he asked his father to get it for him too Droṇa was too poor to do so, but on his son insisting to.

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have it, he conceived the idea of repairing to the court of Drupada and requested him to lend a helping hand on the strength of the promise given by him. The king received him coldly saying that it was highly improbable that he could ever have been on friendly terms with such a beggar like him. As might be expected, the words touched his heart and with all his hopes frustrated, he repaired to Hastināpur where Bhīsma appreciating his learning appointed him a tutor of the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas, as we have already seen. He however never forgot the insult he had received from Drupada and now that he had trained up the princes to be first rate warriors, the first thing he asked of them was to bring the king a captive before himself.

The young princes set out immediately upon the mission entrusted to them with a large army and reached Kāmpilya, the capital of the Pañchālas. Drupada promptly came out to meet them in battle array and a dire conflict ensued. The Kauravas led the attack but finding it difficult to make any headway against the enemy, they asked the Pāṇḍavas to come and help them. Even they found it a hard task to rout the enemy because both Drupada and his friend Satyajit were brave warriors whom it was not an easy thing to subdue. At last however, Arjuna succeeded in killing Drupada's charioteer and before the king could think of retrieving his position, Arjuna rushed up to him, seized him and made him a captive.

The unfortunate king was now taken to Droṇa who sarcastically observed that he was obliged to take these measures because he was anxious to renew the friendship which once existed between them but as he had been told that none but a person who was the master of such a

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large territory as the king possessed, should aspire to that honour, he had no other recourse but to qualify himself by taking possession of his territory. Now that he was a king like him, he inquired, if any bar still existed between them. The captive king was constrained to say 'no' and Droṇa thereupon returned to him the territory lying between the rivers Ganges and Chamaṇvantī and kept the other half being the territory roundabout Ahichchhatra for himself. Humiliated and shorn of half his territory, Drupada returned to his country but as was natural, he vowed vengeance on the Brāhmaṇa for the insult offered to him and having performed a sacrifice for the birth of a son who would redress his wrongs, a son Dhṛṣṭadyumna was born to him who, as we shall see later on, killed Droṇa in the great war.

Yudhiṣṭhira was now formally installed to the throne of his father but he did not enjoy the exalted position long. For Duryodhana was anxious to oust him from it and was only awaiting for the approval of his father to a scheme which he had planned for driving Yudhiṣṭhira away and elevating himself to his place. Dhṛtarāṣṭra objected at first saying that the kingdom of right belonged to the Pāṇḍavas and that Bhīṣma especially would object to any such unrighteous action. Duryodhana however told him that Bhīsma was sure to be apathetic in the matter. As regards others, he had won over Aśvatthāma to his side and that Droṇāchārya too would therefore side with him. Kṛpāchārya would naturally lean towards the side of his brother-in-law and nephew and thus the only person who was likely to work for the Pāṇḍavas was Vidura. He was comparatively speaking

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an unimportant person and he might therefore, he said, be left out of account.

The arguments had their effect and Dhṛtarāṣṭra assented to the dark schemes of his son. The plan was that Yudhiṣṭhira with his four brothers and mother, was to be induced to go to Vārṇāvata and to stay in a house constructed of inflammable materials; after they had stayed there for some time, the house was to be set on fire and the Pāṇḍavas with their mother to be burnt to death.

Duryodhana next set himself to put it into execution. He sent to Yudiṣṭhira messengers who praised to him the merits of the city, its beauty and its greatness, so that he at last conceived the idea of going to the place with his brothers and mother. They were there accomodated in the house constructed for them by the orders of Duryodhana and not suspecting his foul plans were passing their days in peace and quietude when Vidura having come to know of the intentions of Duryodhana sent a messenger informing them of the trap laid for them. The Pāṇḍavas were taken by surprise but as an attempt to run away from the place was not advisable—as Duryodhana would in that case have got rid of them by sending pursuers—they thought that the best course, under the circumstances, was to prepare an underground passage and to escape that way, setting fire to the house themselves. They therefore provided this outlet and as soon as it was ready, they set fire to the house and made their escape disguised as Brāhmaṇas.

They first arrived at a place which was inhabited by a Rākṣasa named Hiḍimba, 'a cannibal of frightful appearance with red eyes, long teeth, and a complexion as black as the rain cloud.' Seeing that some persons had entered within his limits, he sent his sister Hiḍimbā to inquire who

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they were and the purpose which brought them. She set out on her errand but on arriving at the place, was so charmed with the handsome appearance of Bhīma that far from carrying out the behest of his brother, she stood gazing at him completely enamoured, and was still standing there when her brother seeing that she had not returned as soon as she ought himself came over to the place, eager to inquire about the real state of things. He now realised what had happened, and reproaching his sister for her fickle nature, he rushed towards Bhīma. The latter was of course quite a match for him and a violent struggle ensued. At last Bhīma succeeded in catching hold of his waist and lifting him up threw him down on the ground with such violent force that his bones were broken to pieces and he died. Left without a protector, Hiḍimbā offered to marry the victor and he having consented, a son Ghaṭotkacha was born to them, so called because he had a head like an earth pot (Ghaṭ) and erect hairs (Utkach).

The Pāṇḍavas now continued their journey and after visiting the country of the Matsyas, the Trigartas, the Pañchālas and Kichaka, they arrived at the capital of king Drupada, who was holding a great Swayamvara for the bestowal of the hand of his daughter Draupadī. Kings and princes from all parts of the country had gathered there, the chief among them being the Kauravas, the princes of Gandhāra and the kings of Virāta, Madra, Kaliṅga, Pattna, Kośala, Sindh, Kāmboja, Pāṇdya and Puṇḍra. The Pāṇḍavas too went to the place but they were disguised as Brāhmaṇas.

The test prescribed was that the candidate for Draupadī's hand should, with the bows and arrows placed there pierce and bring down a fish placed high on the top of a pole, through a revolving wheel. One prince after another

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arose from his place and tried all his skill but failed. In fact, apart from the difficulty of shooting the prescribed mark, the bow was so heavy that many of them were not able to lift, much less to string it. At last, Karṇa arose from his place and was on his way to fulfil the condition when Draupadī knowing the history of his birth exclaimed that she was not prepared to marry a charioteer. Humbled and disappointed, Karṇa returned to his place and for a moment, it seemed as if none of the Kṣatriyas present there was able to pass the prescribed test.

There was however soon perceived a stir in the place reserved for the Brāhmaṇas. It was Arjuna who now rose and repaired to the appointed spot to try his skill. There was a hush in the assemblage for all thought it strange that a Brāhmaṇa should presume to accomplish what a Kṣatriya had failed to do. Their doubts were however soon dispelled because Arjuna lifted up the bow with all the ease and grace of a skilful archer and stringing the bow, sent the arrow flying through the air with a twang. In the twinkling of an eye, it passed through the revolving wheel and striking the fish, brought it down on the ground, to the intense amazement of all persons who had gathered at the place.

Draupadī threw the garland in her hand round the neck of the victor but the princes present there protested and even threatened Drupada with violence, if he after all allowed his daughter to wed a Brāhmaṇa. The Pāṇḍavas however threw off their disguise at this juncture and Drupada was relieved from the strange predicament in which he was placed.

A fresh difficulty however arose for, as the Mahābhārata says, the Pāṇḍavas on their return home told their mother that they had won a prize and she not knowing

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what they were alluding to, asked them to divide it equally among them. As a mother's command must be obeyed, the Pāṇḍavas agreed to do so but Drupada hesitated for sometime. They however told him that such was the custom among them and having adduced certain instances, in support thereof, the king was reconciled and the question closed.

With their position considerably strengthened, on account of this new alliance, the Pāṇḍavas now asked Duryodhana to give them some portion, at least, of the territory that belonged to them. Duryodhana agreed but retaining for himself the fertile portion of the territory lying between the Yamunā and the Ganges, he gave them the portion to the west thereof. It was altogether an uncultivated tract of land, full of forests but the Pāṇḍavas cleared it by setting fire to it, and built, on the site so cleared, the city of Indraprastha, whose remains are believed to be somewhere near modern Delhi.

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CHAPTER V.

THE IMPERIAL SACRIFICE.

Being now firmly established, the Pāṇḍavas conceived the idea of establishing their supremacy over all the neighbouring kings, chieftains and tribes and celebrating then the Rājasūya sacrifice, as a mark of their paramount power. There was only one king, who they calculated, was likely to question their right to do so *viz.* king Jarāsandha of Magadha. He was a powerful ruler who had subjugated a number of kings and imprisoned them in Girivraja, his capital. Even Kṛṣṇa and his followers were forced by him to flee from Mathurā and make good their escape to Dwārkā. It was therefore decided that he should first be overcome. Fortunately, circumstances were favourable for such an enterprise for his two best warriors *viz.* Haṁsa and Ḍimbhaka were dead and consequently when in pursuance of the scheme they had settled, Arjuna, Bhīma and Kṛṣṇa suddenly appeared near his capital Rājagṛha and asked him to engage in a single combat, he felt considerably embarassed. Being however a brave warrior, he thought it below his dignity to refuse to accept the challenge and a dire conflict ensued between him and Bhīma which lasted for fifteen days. At last, Jarāsandha felt exhausted and offered to retire for rest but Kṛṣṇa beckoned to Bhīma not to let go the opportunity and following his advice, the latter seized Jarāsandha by his loins, threw him violently on the ground, broke his back bone and then catching hold of his legs, split his body into two. It was an awful scene and the roar of dying warrior and of his victorious enemy struck terror into the

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heart of the people and taking advantage of the confusion that ensued, they caught hold of the chariot of the dead warrior and drove back to Indraprastha, leaving the corpse of the dead king, to rot on the road.

The most powerful enemy having thus been got rid of, Yudhiṣṭhira sent his four brothers in the four directions to subjugate and to exact tribute from other kings and rulers. Arjuna was sent to the north, Sahadeva to the south, Bhīmasena to the east and Nakula to the west. As the description of the countries which they visited and the people they subjugated is important, both from the historical and geographical standpoints, we give an account thereof somewhat in details.

To begin with Arjuna. He first subjugated the country of Ānarta, Kālakūta and Kulinda and then defeated the Prativindhyas, the ruler of Śākaladwīpa as also the rulers of seven other islands. He then repaired to Prāgjyotiṣa and defeated its king Bhagadatta whose army consisted of Kirātas, Chīnās, ' and persons staying in countries washed by the ocean.' The chiefs staying in the mountainous tracts of Antargiri, Bahirgiri and Upagiri were next compelled to pay homage and from thence Arjuna repaired to the city called Ulūka whose ruler Bṛhant acknowledged his supremacy. Encamping near Devaprastha, the capital of a king called Senābindu, he reduced to subjection Modāpur, Vāmadeva, Sudāmā, Susankula and north Ulūka. He next invaded the territory of Viśvagasva, a Paurava king and compelled him to acknowledge his sway. He also subjugated the Dasyus living in the mountains, several wild tribes ' who had recourse to conjugal intercourse in public like animals' and ten Śudra kingdoms. The brave Kṣatriyas of Kṣshmir, king Rochamṣna of Urgā, the Suhmas, the Cholas, the Trigartas,

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the Daradas, the Kokanadas, the Bāhlīkas, the Kāmbojas and the Darvas were also vanquished and two cities called Lohita and Simhapur were taken. He further exacted from a people called Ṛṣikas, a tribute of eight horses, 'of a colour green like the stomach of the parrot' and crossing the Śveta mountains invaded and conquered the country of the Kimpuruṣas. He then passed on to the country of Hātaka and the country near the Mān Sarovar and compelled its people to acknowledge the supremacy of Yudhiṣṭhira and give him horses of the Maṇḍuka class as a present. It was Arjuna's intention to invade the territory of the Uttara Kurus but he was told that it was a feat no mortal could achieve and he reluctantly retraced his steps therefrom.

In the meantime, Bhīma had advanced towards the east and subjugated the Pāñchāla king and conquered the Gaṇḍak and the Videha territory. Thence, he repaired to Sudharmā, the king of the Daśārṇakas who engaged him in a deadly conflict although unarmed so that Bhīma was so much pleased with him that he conferred on him the title of Senāpati. Turning then to the south, Bhima took the city of Pulinda and made two princes Sukumāra and Sumitra acknowledge his supremacy. Śiśupāla of Chedi was also persuaded to pay tribute and king Śreṇimāṇa of the Kumāra country, Bṛhadbala of the Kośalas, Subāhu of Benares as well as the kings Supārśva, Rājapati and Kratha defeated. He also subjugated the Matsyas, the Maladas, the Maddhāras, the Mahīdharas, the Somadheyas, the Śarmakas, the Varmakas, the Śakas and the Barbarakas as also the chiefs of the Bhargas, the Niśādas and the Kirātas. Exacting tribute fsom the king of Magadha who as we have seen was already subjugated, he repaired to Girivraja, defeated Karṇa as well as the

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kings of Puṇḍra, Baṅga and Suhma and the chiefs dwelling on the banks of the Kauśikī. Persons living in the seas and on lands rendered marshy by sea-water were also subjugated and he then returned to the capital laden with precious jewels, rubies, pearls, gold, silver and other costly presents.

Among the kings whom Sahadeva subjugated were Dantavaktra, Sukumāra, Sumitra and the Matsya kings. He also defeated the Śūrasena king Kuntibhoja and a prince living on the banks of the river Charmaṇvatī. Proceeding then to the south, towards the river Narmadā, he compelled Vinda and Anuvinda, to acknowledge his superiority and invaded the city named Bhojakaṭ whose ruler Bhīṣmaka opposed him strongly and was only defeated after a conflict which lasted for two days. He next vanquished the Kośala king and the chiefs on the river Veṇyā, the Āraṇyak chiefs, the Naṭas and a tribe of people known as the Herambakas. He also vanquished the Mārudha king, invaded Manjugrāma and defeated a Nīcha king named Arbuda and another chief called Vātādhip. Turning them to the south, he reduced completely to subjection the Pulindas, the Pāṇḍya kings as also kings Śamainda and Dvivida of the monkey kings. These latter however offered him strong resistance and were only subdued after a contest which lasted for seven days. Laden with costly gems, he repaired to the city of Māhiṣmatī whose ruler Nīla too offered him stubborn opposition. In fact, he is one of those kings who do not appear to have acknowledged the suzeranity of the Pāṇḍavas, for all that is said with regard to him is that he paid Sahadeva proper respect. His efforts in other directions were however more successful and while on the

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one hand, he completely routed the kings of Surāṣṭra, Kaccha, as well as the king of Traipura and king Ākrati of the Pauravas, he exacted tribute from the Pāṇḍyas, Drāviḍas Keralas, Andhras, Tālavans, Kaliṅgas and Uṣṭra Karṇikas. Among the tribes routed by him, we also find the Niśādas, Puruśādas and Karṇaprāvaraṇas and among the places taken by him were Kollagiri, Surabhi Pātaṇ, Tāmradvīpa, Rāmakgiri and Sanjayanti.

Lastly, Nakula who was sent to the west defeated the kings Śairīṣa and Mahettha, a Rājarṣi named Ākrośa and certain Kṣatriyas called Matta-Mayūras. He also vanquished the kings of the Śibi country, the Trigartas, the Ambaṣṭhas, the Mālavas and the Panch Karpaṭas. Turning then to the forest of Puṣkara, he conquered the people residing there as well as the Śudras, the Āhiras and the persons staying on the banks of the Sindhu and the Sarasvatī. Among the other countries invaded and taken by him were Utara Jyotiṣa, a city named Divyakaṭaka and the country of the Panchanada or the Punjab. He also subjugated the Rāmaṭhas, the Yavanas and the Śakas and then repaired to Śākala, the capital of the Madra country and its king too agreed to pay tribute to him. Besides, he defeated the Dvijas of the Madhyamakeya and Vāṭadhāna class and some terrible Mlechchhas staying in the seas.

The supremacy of Yudhiṣṭhira having been thus recognised, preparations were directed to be made for celebrating the imperial sacrifice. All the kings, princes and chieftains of the time were invited to witness the grand ceremony and Brāhmaṇas well versed in sacred lore and acquainted with all the details of sacrifice were invited to take part on the occasion and entrusted with the due performance of the sacrificial rites. The people were not forgotten and every sort of entertainment was provided for

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them. The scene was grand and picturesque and is thus described in the Mahābhārata.

Jumnā's dark and limpid waters laved Yudhisthir's palace walls,
And to hail him Dharmarāja, monarchs thronged his royal halls.
He to honoured kings and chieftains with a royal grace assigned,
Palaces with sparkling waters and with trees umbrageous lined.
Honoured then the mighty monarchs lived in mansions milky white
Like the peaks of famed Kailās'a lifting proud their snowy height.
Graceful walls that swept the meadows circled round the royal halls,
Nets of gold belaced the casements, gems bedecked the shining walls.
Flights of steps led up to chambers, many tented, carpet graced
And festooning fragrant garlands were harmonious interlaced
For below from spacious gate ways rose the peoples' gathering cry
And from far, the swan white mansions caught the ravished gazer's eye.
Richly graced with precious metals shone the turrets bright and gay,
Like the rich and shining turrets of the lofty Himalaya.*

The proceedings commenced at an auspicious time by the offering of sacrifice and the chanting of hymns and while some Brāhmaṇas became engaged in performing various ceremonies, others became busy discussing the meaning of certain texts, the propriety of a particular rite or the mode in which it was performed. The grandest part of the ceremony was that of offering presents to Yudhiṣṭhira. Every one of the kings and princes who had assembled, laid at the king's feet, things for which the country from which he came was the most wellknown so that the place became literally an exhibition of things for which India and the neighbouring country were famous. Chief among these were horses having a nose like the beak of a parrot, camels and mules ; costly furs and richly embroidered woolen shawls presented by the king of Kāmboja ; slaves decked in ornaments of gold presented by people living in the country near Broach ; Kandhar horses presented by those living on the banks of the Indus and strong well fed donkeys of various colours bred on the Vaṅkṣu by other kings and princes. People staying on

* R. C. Dutt's Mahābharata

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the banks of the Sarlodā situated between the mounts Meru and Mandrāchala presented him with vessels full of gold dust collected by the Pipilaka ants and the Bhīl tribes brought sandal wood, aromatic herbs, beautiful plants and animals born in distant countries. A Gandharva named Tumbru offered horses of green colour and the kings of Virāta and Matsya a number of elephants. The kings of China, Andra and Barbaras laid at his feet precious stones, soft coloured, high class, cloth made of wool, silk fur, flax, musk, swords and other instruments while chiefs from Ceylon, black in colour having red coloured eyes presented him with gems and pearls.

A serious difficulty however arose on the day of the Abhiṣeka when it was customary to anoint those present with sanctified water. Yudhiṣṭhira asked Bhīṣma as the eldest member in the assemblage as to who should be paid that honour first. He named Kṛṣṇa whereupon Śiśupāla, the king of Chedi, protested saying that this was unfair as there were persons superior to him in age like Vasudeva and king Drupada, superior to him in wisdom like Vyāsa and Droṇa, and superior in kingly dignity and power such as Salya and Duryodhana. A fierce altercation thereupon followed between Bhīṣma and Śiśupāla and the latter in the heat thereof having slandered Kṛṣṇa, a little unwisely, he got exasperated and cut off Śiśupāla's head with his discus. The proceedings were then resumed and the sacrifice completed without any hitch.

The pomp and eclat with which the Rājasūya was celebrated, the number of rulers and princes who made obeisance to Yudhiṣṭhira and the rich presents he received excited afresh the jealousy of Duryodhana and in consultation with Śakuni and Karṇa, he began to concert once more measures for the downfall of Yudhiṣṭhira and his brothers.

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At last, Śakuni, who was an expert in playing at dice suggested that Yudhiṣṭhira should be invited to play that game and he undertook to see that their side won it. This was agreed to and a formal invitation having thereupon been sent to Yudhiṣṭhira, he accepted the same. As was anticipated, Yudhiṣṭhira lost one game after another and staked away all that he possessed. At last, he staked his own freedom as well as that of his brothers and having lost that too, was inclined to stop the game but Śakuni bent upon a complete humiliation of the Pāṇḍavas reminded him that Draupadī still remained. "Have one more stake and you may win back everything." "I stake my wife" said Yudhiṣṭhira in reply, "the beautiful Draupadī, neither short nor tall, neither thin nor bulky, with eyes as large and white and with breath as fragrant as the autumual lotus flowers, she who is as beautiful, as kind, and as well behaved as a man may ever wish his wife to be." Śakuni was only waiting for the opportunity; he threw the dice and won.

Flushed with success and exulting in the disgrace of the Pāṇḍavas, Duryodhana sent his brother Duḥśasana to inform Draupadī of her bondage and to bring her in the midst of the assembly. Draupadī refused to go with him but Duḥśāsana dragged her off to the assembly-hall and as if this were not sufficient, Duryodhana asked her if she was willing to be his queen. Draupadī haughtily refused whereupon Duryodhana directed that she should be stripped of her clothes and Duḥśāsana was about to accomplish the ignoble task when Dhṛtarāṣṭra pleased with her noble conduct asked Duḥśāsana to desist. The order was obeyed and in consultation wish those who were present, it was decided that the Pāṇḍavas should go in exile for twelve

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years passing the thirteenth "*incognito.*" If they were discovered, they had to go into exile again.

Agreeably to these conditions, the Pāṇḍavas now left Hastināpura accompanied by their faithful wife and spent twelve years in visiting all the well-known places of the time. Now and then a relation, a friend or a sage used to pay a visit to them and to relieve their solitude. The twelve years thus rolled on and the thirteenth which they were to pass "*incognito*" set in.

It was a difficult question to decide as to where they should spend it. After anxious deliberation, they came to the conclusion that they should repair to the court of Virāta and that each of them should take service under him in one capacity or other. Yudhiṣṭhira accordingly became employed as his adviser, Bhīma became the master cook and Arjuna who was proficient in the art of singing undertook to teach music to the female members of the house. Nakula and Sahadeva became respectively the keeper of the king's horses and his cattle stall while Draupadī was appointed to serve as a personal attendant of Virāṭa's queen—Sudeṣṇā.

Matters went on smoothly for a time but at last an unpleasant incident occurred. Kīchaka who was the head of the army of Virāṭa became enamoured of Draupadī and in order to accomplish his purpose induced Sudeṣṇā to send her to his apartments on some pretext or other. She accordingly asked Draupadī to fetch for her some drink from Kīchaka's house and on her going there, Kīchaka who was waiting for the opportunity made an attempt to ravish her. Draupadī defended herself with all the courage she possessed and managed to escape to the court of Virāta. The king however was listless and enraged on account of the insult thus received, she spoke to Bhīma about it and

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narrated to him all that had happened. He told her that under the circumstances, the best course was to undertake to meet Kīchaka at dead of night, in the dancing hall, which remained unoccupied at the time and that he would lie concealed there and kill him, the moment he came there. She arranged accordingly and as the infatuated man went to the place, Bhīma attacked him furiously and he died on the spot.

The news of the mysterious death of Kīchaka soon reached Duryodhana and suspecting that to be the work of the Pāṇḍavas, he determined to follow up the clue. He thereupon asked the king of the Trigartas, who had a grudge against Virāṭa, owing to his having sustained a defeat at his hands, to make a raid on Virāṭa's territory from the south while he himself undertook to do so from the north. They raided his territory accordingly and as Virāṭa proceeded to repel their attack, leaving his city in the hands of his son Uttara, the Kauravas promptly made a raid from the north. Uttara proceeded to meet them but being young got terrified at the mere sight of the army of the enemy. Arjuna however persuaded him to return by undertaking to lead his army for him and the tide of the battle turned, the Kauravas retreating to their capital. Their object however was gained, for they only wanted to ascertain the whereabouts of the Pāṇḍavas and this they had succeeded in discovering, before the thirteenth year was over.

For a moment, it seemed as if Duryodhana was triumphant once more and that the Pāṇḍavas were doomed but Bhīṣma pointed out to him that he was mistaken as in every five years, two months were in excess and at that rate, 5 months and 12 nights would be in excess in thirteen years and this they had a right to deduct. Duryodhana felt discomfited but had now no other recourse but to reconcile himself to what had happened and to wait the turn the events took.

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CHAPTER VI.

THE MAHĀBHĀRATA WAR.

The first step which the Pāṇḍavas took on their return from exile was to claim back the kingdom, of which they had been deprived. They knew it well that Duryodhana was not a man to accede to the demand but being anxious to avert a recourse to arms if they can, they sent Śri Kṛṣṇa to his court with a message of peace. Droṇa, Bhīṣma and other elderly members advised Duryodhana to adopt a conciliatory attitude but he was irre-concileable and curtly refused to listen to him. Kṛṣṇa, therefore, returned to the Pāṇḍavas and told them that his mission had failed.

The Pāṇḍavas had now no other recourse but to fight and their friends and relations rallied round them to help them in their attempt to win back the kingdom that rightfully belonged to them. Among these, the chief were Drupada, the king of the Pañchālas and their father-in-law and Virāta, the king of the Matsyas whom they had as we have seen assisted in recovering his cattle. It is somewhat strange to find that Jayatsena, the king of Magadha was on their side, but it is probable that he took their side, because he was their nominee and owed his position to them. It also appears that Bhīma had married a daughter of Jarāsandha and that must have healed up the deadly strife which existed between the two royal families. It is still more strange to find Dhṛṣṭaketu, the king of the Chedis and the successor of Śiśupāla arrayed also on the side of the Pāṇḍavas. Of the other kings who joined them, we may note here Sātyaki, the head of the Satvatas, a

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branch of the Yādavas and the Pāṇḍyas with the sea coast people of Madras.

On the side of the Kauravas, there was Śalya, the ruler of Panjab, king Bhagadatta with his army of Chīnās and Kirātas and Jayadratha, the ruler of Sindh. King Nīla of Mahiṣmatī who as we have seen was one of those who did not acknowledge the suzerainity of the Pāṇḍavas was also on the side of Duryodhana. Lastly, the kings of Bhoja and Avanti and Sudaksena with his army of the Śakas, the Yavanas and the Kāmbojas sided with him.

The strength of Duryodhana lay however not so much in his allies as in the brilliant galaxy of men in his service. The bravest and the staunchest among them was Karṇa, made king of Aṅga by Duryodhana. Knowing well that he was more than a match for Arjuna, Kunti with pardonable feminine weakness tried to persuade him to abandon the cause of the Kauravas by telling him the story of his birth and urging him not to fight with the Pāṇḍavas who were his brothers. The news came to him like a shock and he was not a little grieved to hear the woeful tale but he firmly told her that it was too late and that he could not be ungrateful to a master who had been uniformly kind to him. However, out of respect for his feelings, he promised that he would not raise his arms against any person other than Arjuna and here the matter ended.

Among other warriors on the side of Duryodhana, we find Bhīṣma, who was a Brahmachārin for life and who led the Kauravas for ten continuous days causing havoc among the Pāṇḍavas. Another warrior of equal prowess was Droṇa, the preceptor of the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas and his son Asvatthāmā was an equally renowned warrior, skilled in all the warfare of the time. Last but not the

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least was Duryodhana himself. Well aware that he was the cause of the fatal war, he bore the burden ungrudgingly, fought till the last, exhorting the Kauravas to do their best, both by precept and example and tried his best to bring the battle to a successful issue; but his cause was unrighteous and he had alienated the sympathy of the elder members of his state, by his utter disregard of the advice given by them, with the result that in spite of his personal exertions and his vehement exhortations to his allies to fight to the best of their capacity, his cause failed in the end and he died a miserable death at the end of Bhīma, who had sworn vengeance on him from the time that he had insulted Draupadī, in the presence of her husbands.

As regards the strength of the two armies, that of the Pāṇḍavas was seven Akṣauhiṇīs strong while that of the Kauravas numbered eleven Akṣauhiṇīs. An Aksauhiṇī consisted of 109,350 foot, 65610 horses, 21870 chariots and an equal number of elephants and at that rate, the army of the former consisted of 765,450 foot, 459,270 horses, 153090 chariots and an equal number of elephants while that of the latter consisted of 1202850 foot, 721,710 horses, 240570 chariots and an equal number of elephants. These numbers are no doubt considerably exaggerated and are incredible. We may however at least infer from them that the two armies were in the proportion of seven to eleven. According to the rules laid down by Bṛhaspati, who says that 'a small force should fight in a compact body—it should take the form of a cone', Yudhiṣṭhira arranged his army in a compact group while Duryodhana arranged it in the form of a crescent and it extended over a length of twenty miles.

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It is difficult to ascertain the date of the battle. The earliest is that assigned by Mr. Modak who, on the strength of certain astronomical calculations, came to the conclusion that the war was fought 5223 years B. C. Mr. Vaidya is of opinion that it was fought in the beginning of the Kaliyuga era of B. C. 3102 while according to the Bṛhat Saṁhitā of Varāha Mihira, the Great Bear stood in the Maghā Nakṣatra when king Yudhiṣṭhira ruled the earth. This, he calculated was the case 2526 years before the Śaka era, that is, in the 653rd year of the Kaliyuga or in 2449 B. C.

There is however a greater uniformity of opinion among western scholars. Thus according to Colebrooke the battle was fought in 1400 B.C. and both Wilson and Elphinstone take the same view. Wilford gives the date 1370 B.C. and Pratt places the event at the end of the twelfth century before Christ. We agree with the view they have taken, our chief authority for that being the very explicit statement in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa that 1015 years had elapsed between the birth of Parikṣit and the coronation of Nanda. As he and his descendants reigned for one hundred years and were then displaced by the Mauryas under Chandragupta, we get a difference of 1115 years between Parikṣit and the last mentioned king and as Chandragupta is known to have reigned in 323 B.C., the birth of Parikṣit may be placed in 1438. The Matsya and the Vāyu also give almost the same date, the difference between Nanda and Parikṣit being, according to them, 1150 and 1115 years respectively.

The question has been discussed somewhat in details by Col. Wilford on Vol. V. of the Asiatic researches and as the opinion expressed by him agrees with the opinion

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given above, we may be excused if we quote it in extenso. He observes :—

"It has been asserted in the second volume of the Asiatic Researches that Parāśara lived about 1180 years before Christ, in consequence of an observation of the place of the Colures. But Mr Davis having considered the subject with the minutest attention authorises me to say that this observation must have been made 1391 years before the Christian era."

"Another synchronism still more interesting is that of the flood of Deucalion which, according to the best chronologers, happened 1390 years before Christ. Deucalion is derived from Dev-kālyun or Deo-kāljun : the true Sanskrit name is Dev Kāl Yavana. The word Kāla Yavana is always pronounced in conversation and in the vulgar dialects, Cālyun or Kaljun, and signifies, literally, the devouring Yavana. He is represented in the Purāṇas as a most powerful prince who lived in the western parts of India and generally resided in Camboja, now Gazni, the ancient name of which is Safni or Safna. It is true, they never bestow upon him, the title of Deva; on the contrary, they call him an incarnate demon because he presumed to oppose Kṛṣṇa and was very near defeating his ambitious projects; indeed Kṛṣṇa was overcome and subdued after seventeen bloody battles and according to the express words of the Purāṇas, he was forced to have recourse to treachery by which means he (Kāla Yavana) was totally defeated in the eighteenth engagement."

To resume the thread of one story, the battle began at the break of dawn and the blowing of conches, the blare of trumpets, the neighing of horses and the shrieking of elephants announced that the battle had begun. Each of the divisions of the Kauravas was under one general and

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Bhīṣma was their generalissimo. He was clad in white, with a white turban on his head and was driving in a chariot drawn by four white horses, with the palm tree banner waving on its top. Opposed to him was Arjuna, the bravest of the Pāṇḍavas, riding in a golden chariot, which was driven by no less distinguished a person than Kṛṣṇa.

The battle did not commence well for the Pāṇḍavas for the Kauravas led by their able general rushed into the ranks of their enemy creating havoc among them. Abhimanyu, the son of Arjuna tried to check their path but his attempt proved fruitless and he fainted pierced by the arrows of Bhīṣma. The Matsya princes now took his place but they fared much worse and both were slain. Seeing that they were thus losing heavily, Drupada and Arjuna came forward and attempted to rally their troops but they too were not successful and it was not until night came on, that the carnage wrought by Bhīsma ceased. Both the enemies retired to their camps, the Pāṇḍavas apparently having fared the worst.

The battle began again the next day in all its fury, its prominent feature that day being the contest between Droṇa and Dhṛṣṭadyumna, the son of Drupada. The former was of course more than a match for the latter and he shattered to pieces the chariot of the latter with his arrows. Nothing daunted, the young hero sprang upon his feet and rushed at his father's mortal enemy with all the fury of a hungry lion and would have paid the penalty of death for this rash act, had not Bhīma seeing the danger run to his assistance, with all the men under his command. The Kauravas thereupon turned towards him and in order to strengthen their hands, Duryodhana sent the Kaliṅgas to help them. The new comers however were not able to render a good account of themselves, for though their

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chieftain succeeded for a time in checking Bhīma, the latter seeking a favourable opportunity, sprang upon his elephant and killed him with a blow of his mace. In the mean time, a fierce battle had begun between Lakṣmaṇa, the son of Duryodhana and Abhimanyu, the son of Arjuna and they were still fighting when Arjuna hastened to assist his son. His resistless rush to the scene of battle filled the mind of the Kauravas with dismay and they ultimately fled in disorder.

The result of the second day's battle being not as satisfactory as Duryodhana expected, he repaired to Bhīṣma and asked him why although there were warriors like him, Droṇa and Karṇa in his camp, the Pāṇḍavas got the upper hand. Was it that he was getting lax in his efforts? If it was so, he would, he said, appoint Karṇa to be the chief in command. Bhīṣma got wild as he listened to this impertinent question and fiercely retorted that not he but the evil deeds of Duryodhana were responsible for what had happened. He however assured him that he would try his best and implored him to watch the trend of events. The result was that the next day, the Pāṇḍavas once more found it a hard task to make a stand against him. In fact, they lost so heavily that Kṛṣṇa lost all patience and flinging the reins of the horses yoked to Arjuna's chariot into the lands of the latter, he rushed towards Bhīṣma with a view to engage in a personal combat with him. Arjuna however followed him and apprising him of the danger of the situation, persuaded him to return, assuring him that he need not run all that risk so long as he was there. He then rushed into the heart of the enemy's rank himself and although Duryodhana and Śalya tried to check him, the Pāṇḍavas with the Chedis, the Matsyas and the Pañchālas swept onward

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wave after wave until darkness closed upon them and they were compelled to cease the bloody strife.

The fourth day now dawned and it proved an evil day for Duryodhana, as Bhīma killed eight of his brothers and six of them fled from the battlefield. On the fifth day, however the tide of battle turned and Bhuriśravā on the side of the Kauravas killed two sons of Sātyaki. On the sixth day too, the Pāṇḍavas fared badly and it was with great difficulty that Arjuna and Drupad saved Bhīma, who had penetrated far into the Kaurava host.

Seeing that they were faring badly, Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa tried to deal a decisive blow. They succeeded to some extent and inflicted a terrible carnage but the moment, they came where Bhīṣma was directing the movements of the Kaurava army, they began to lose heavily once more. The old doughty warrior was fighting with all his might and he stood like a rock, rolling back the sweeping tide of the Pāṇḍava forces. As a result thereof, Yudhiṣṭhira's standard was struck down and his chariot shattered to pieces. Nakula and Sahadeva fared no better and ultimately, the Pāṇḍavas were compelled to take refuge in their own camp.

On the eighth day, however, the tide of the battle turned in favour of the Pāṇḍavas for Bhīsma's charioteer having been slain, his horses got out of control and he becoming thus unable to guide the Kauravas, they lost heavily. The Gandharva princes tried to stop the carnage but they failed in their attempt and five of them were slain by Irāvat, the son of Arjuna, by a Nāg princess. He was however in his turn killed by Alambuṣa, an event which stirred up the feelings of Arjuna and he in retaliation killed hundreds of them. Bhīma too killed several brothers

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of Duryodhana and the battle closed only when the shadow of night compelled them to cease their hostilities.

Seeing that the Pāṇḍavas were victorious once more, Duryodhana again repaired to Bhīṣma and again exhorted him to do his best. Bhīsma promised to do so and there was another dreadful battle between the two armies which lasted till the shades of evening compelled them to cease.

The Pāṇḍavas now clearly perceived that there was no chance of success, so long as Bhīṣma was in command of the Kaurava army. They therefore repaired to his camp secretly at dead of night and requested him to relax his efforts as he was their relation as much as that of the Kauravas. Bhīṣma of course said that this was impossible, for Duryodhana was his lord and he could never prove faithless to him.

Seeing that it was fruitless to win over Bhīṣma to their cause, the Pāṇḍavas resorted to a strategem for accomplishing their end. Kṛṣṇa told them that Bhīṣma being a true warrior was not likely to fight a woman born. Now there was in their army, Śikhandi, the youngest son of Drupada who was born a female child but whom the gods had turned into a man. 'If he' said Kṛṣṇa, 'were made their general, Bhīṣma, a true Kṣatriya will not fight and may be slain by him.' Arjuna turned away his face with a shudder at the idea of this base act, unworthy of a Kṣatriya but Kṛṣṇa told him that if Bhīṣma fell on this account, he would fall a victim to the cause of virtue and that he need no be so nervous. Kṛṣṇa's words had their effect and it was decided that the course suggested by him should be followed.

Agreeably to the plan thus settled, the Pāṇḍavas made a desperate attempt next day to reach the place where Bhīṣma was fighting under the leadership of Śikhaṇḍī

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Duryodhana had anticipated their trick and tried his best to frustrate their designs but he failed and the Pāṇḍavas after heavy loss succeeded in reaching their goal. For a moment, Arjuna wished that he was not there, as he thought of the base stratagem, he had agreed to carry out, but Kṛṣṇa whispered to him and Śikhaṇḍī was at last placed in the van of the army of the Pāṇḍavas.

Bhīsma viewed the Pāndav forces with a calm unmoving face,
Saw not Arjun's fair Gāndiva, saw not Bhīma's mighty mace;
Smiled to see the young S'ikhandī, rushing to the battle's fore
Like the foam upon the billow when the mighty storm winds roar.
Bhīsma thought of word he plighted, and of oath that he had sworn,
Dropped his arms before the warrior who was but a female born.
And the standard which no warrior ever saw in base retreat,
Idly stood upon the chariot, threw its shade on Bhīsma's seat.
Then the flag staff fell dissevered on the crushed and broken ear
As from azure sky of midnight, falls the meteor's flaming star
Not by young Sikhandī's arrows, Bhīsma's palm tree standard fell
Nor S'ikhandī's feeble lances did the peerless Bhīsma quell;
True to oath the bleeding chieftain turned his darkening face away
Turned and fell, the sun declining, marked the closing of the day.*

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* Dutt's 'Mahābharata' translated into English verse.

CHAPTER VII.

THE WAR—(*continued*).

Duryodhana now appointed Droṇa to act in the place of Bhīṣma. Though he was a thorough master of the art of warfare and was skilled in the use of all the weapons of war, he lacked the experience of Bhīṣma, in directing the movements of the army and the Kauravas did not fare as well as under him as they did under Bhīṣma. He however successfully held his own against the Pāṇḍavas for five days and the period during which he led the Kauravas is not without its interest.

The first notable event during his command was the warfare waged by Abhimanyu, the son of Arjuna by Subhadrā. Though he was quite young, he was brave and accomplished, and dashing into the heart of the Kaurava army routed a Paurava king who crossed his path. He next met Jayadratha who fared no better and his sword having been broken, as he tried to pierce the former's buckler, he took refuge in his car and fled. His place was however taken by Śalya and Abhimanyu though he was exhausted promptly turned to attack him when Bhīma seeing that Abhimanyu would fail in his attempt through sheer exhaustion interposed between the two warriors and a fierce battle thereupon ensued between him and Śalya. The result of the duel was dubious because none of them was able to vanquish the other and in the end, both of them fainted and fell.

The next day, there was an exciting battle between Droṇa and Dhṛṣṭadyumna. Droṇa however proved successful in the end and compelled his enemy to flee from the

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field. Another Pāñchāla prince Satyajit took his place but he fared no better and was slain. Other warriors followed but they were all repulsed with heavy loss. Emboldened by these successes, Droṇa now vowed to seize Yudhiṣṭhira and to take him captive to Duryodhana but he failed because the Pāṇḍavas coming to know of his intention concentrated all their forces to defend his person and they drove back one chief after another of the Kauravas, who tried to penetrate their ranks. At last, night came on and Droṇa found to his anguish that his vow was broken.

The third morning of Droṇa's command ushered in and the battle was resumed again. Abhimanyu was once more the hero of the day and held his own against immense odds of the Kauravas, repelling Duryodhana, Śalya and Duḥśāsana one after another and slaying Lakṣmaṇa, the son of Duryodhana. He next encountered Jayadratha who contrary to the rules of war engaged in a battle with him with six other warriors. It was impossible that Abhimanyu could fight single handed with them but the noble youth instead of fleeing from the battle-field turned to attack them with all the vigour at his command.

Heedless yet of death and danger, misty with the loss of blood,
Abhimanyu wiped his forehead, gazed where dark his foemen stood.
Then with wild despairing valour, flickering flame of closing life
Mace in hand, the heedless warrior rushed to end the mortal strife;
Rushed upon the startled foemen, Abhimanyu fought and fell,
And his deeds to distant ages, bards and wandering minstrels tell.
Like a tusker of the forests by surrounding hunters slain,
Like a wood consuming wild fire quenched upon the distant plain,
Like a mountain shaking tempest, spent in force and hushed and still,
Like the red resplendant day god, setting on the western hill,
Like the moon serene and beauteous, quenched in eclipse dark and pale,
Lifeless slumbered Abhimanyu when the softened star light fell.

The news of Abhimanyu's death filtered down slowly to the camp of the Pāṇḍavas—he had advanced too far for them to know of it at once—and threw the whole

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camp into grief. Arjuna's grief was of course intense for he loved him with all the ardour that a father entertains for a son worthy of himself and he vowed to kill the man responsible for the death of his son, the next day or to die himself. He however found to his regret that his vow was hard to fulfil, for the Kauravas as soon as they learnt thereof sent Jayadratha to the remotest part of the army and placed sturdy warriors in his front to obstruct the path of Arjuna. Arjuna was however desperate and after a mighty effort succeeded in forcing his way through the armies of Durmarsa, Duḥśāsana, and Droṇa as well as of the Aṅgas, Kaliṅgas and Avantis. Unfortunately for him, at this critical juncture, his horses felt completely exhausted and Kṛṣṇa told him that before they could proceed further, it was necessary to feed them and give them water. Arjuna had no other alternative but to stop and much valuable time was lost. However, as soon as they were refreshed, they started off again on their journey and at last succeeded in sighting Jayadratha. He was of course not alone, but surrounded by a number of warriors and of these, one was Karṇa who offered him stubborn opposition. Hour after hour passed but Arjuna found it impossible to force his way through the army of that great warrior. At last, a black sable cloud appeared in the sky, making everything dark. Jayadratha thought that it was night fall and exulting in the idea that Arjuna should now kill himself if he was true to his word, rushed out of his place of refuge, and a number of well aimed arrows discharged with the speed of lightning killed Jayadratha and he fell dead in his chariot. The black cloud now disappeared and Karṇa soon realised the fatal mistake Jayadratha had committed.

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The next day, the battle recommenced in all its fury, and the Kauravas tried to make up their losses in the past. At first, they were eminently successful and the grandsons of Drupada were all slain that day. Getting desparate, Drupada thereupon himself attacked Droṇa, assisted by the king Virāta but the doughty Āchārya was at his best and both of them were worsted and slain. Droṇa now determined to follow up his victory when he heard a cry that Aśvatthāmā was slain by Bhīma. The truth was that only an elephant of that name had been slain but Droṇa thinking that his son was dead hastened to Yudhiṣṭhira to inquire of the fact. He answered that the lordly tusker Aśvatthāmā was slain but in his haste, Droṇa heard only the last words and was returning to his camp sad and disspirited when Dhṛṣṭadyumna who was watching his movements attacked him with full force and he fell dead on the battlefield.

The Pāṇḍavas were now once more triumphant and the Kauravas had lost one able general after another. Duryodhana had however still one matchless warrior under him *viz.* Karṇa and he appointed him to the chief command in his army, urging him to try his best to deal a crushing blow on the enemy. Karṇa replied that so far as skill in arms was concerned, he would be able to hold his own against the best of the Pāṇḍavas but he added that it was necessary that he should have an excellent charioteer, thoroughly proficient in the work. Śalya, the king of the Madras was one of them and he asked Duryodhana to request him to do the work for him. Duryodhana consulted Śalya in the matter. At first, he hesitated as it was beneath the dignity of a king to act as charioteer for a man who himself did not belong to that class but he consented after all. Karṇa thereupon entered upon

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his duties in right earnest and the Pāṇḍavas felt the full force of his vigorous onslaught. The Niṣādas were first to attempt to check his victorious career but they failed and large numbers of them were slain. The Pañchālas too strove vainly to oppose him and lost heavily. At last, Karṇa reached the spot where Yudhiṣṭhira was fighting and a fierce battle began between the two. The latter was at first successful and a well aimed arrow from him struck the left arm of Karṇa and he fell bleeding on the battle-field. He was however soon upon his legs again and a number of arrows discharged in quick succession shattered to pieces the armour of Yudhiṣṭhira and it fell down from his body with a clank. Yudhiṣṭhira however continued to fight for some time without an armour but Karṇa at last made it too hot for him to stand his attack and Yudhiṣṭhira fled.

Stung to the quick by the disgrace which had befallen him, Yudhiṣṭhira sent for Arjuna and asked him not to fight with any person other than Karṇa the next day and to retrieve their honour. Arjuna readily obeyed and a fierce battle began between the two heroes, the next morning.

It seemed as if none of them would be able to vanquish the other but at last the wheels of Karṇa's chariot stuck into the soft soil. 'Hold' cried Karṇa to Arjuna 'you cannot strike an antagonist who is thus disabled.' Arjuna replied by a scornful laugh and Kṛṣṇa retorted by asking if he had followed the path of honour when he joined with Śakuni and Duryodhana in depriving them of their kingdom in the game at dice or when they heaped insults on Draupadī in the council hall. Was it again right for seven warriors to kill in fight a single warrior?

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Stung to fury and to madness, faint but frantic Karna fought,
Reckless, ruthless and relentless, valiant Arjun's life he sought.
Sent his last resistless arrow, on his foeman's mighty chest
Arjun felt a shock of thunder, on his broad and mailed breast.
Fainting fell the bleeding Arjun, darkness dimmed his manly eye
Pale and breathless watched his warriors, anxious watched the gods in sky.
Then it passed and helmed Arjun rose like newly lighted fire,
Abhimanyu's sad remembrance kindled fresh a father's ire.
And he drew his bow Gāṇḍiva, aimed his dart with stifled breath
Vengeance for his murdered hero, winged the fatal dart of death.
Like the fiery bolt of lightning, Arjun's lurid arrow sped;
Like the red and flaming meteor, Karna fell among the dead.*

The death of Karṇa was a serious loss to Duryodhana as there was no one left to whom he can well entrust the command of his army. Kṛpāchārya therefore advised him to make peace with Yudhiṣṭhira but he refused saying that it was futile to expect that the Pāṇḍavas would now forgive the wrong done to them and make an amicable settlement. Moreover, his brothers, kinsmen, friends and elders had died on the battle-field for him and it did not behove him to secure his personal safety by submitting to his enemies at the last moment. He therefore appointed Śalya to lead his army and the battle began again the next day. Śalya was however soon overcome and was slain by Yudhiṣṭhira. Duryodhana thereupon fled to a lake close by but the Pāṇḍavas tracked him out and a fearful duel ensued between him and Bhīma. At last Bhīma true to his vow gave him a mortal blow on the thigh and the unfortunate king fell senseless on the ground. On the other hand, Aśvatthāmā, in revenge for the death of his father attacked the camp of the Pāṇḍavas at dead of night and after slaying Dhṛṣṭadyumna put to death the children of Draupadī. He then hastened to the spot where Duryodhana was lying and communicated to the dying monarch, the bloody revenge

* Dutt's Mahābhārata,

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he had taken. Duryodhana blessed him, in faltering accents, for what he had accomplished and soon breathed his last.

The war was now at an end and after attending to the funeral obsequies of those who had died on the battlefield, Yudhiṣṭhira celebrated the Aśvamedha sacrifice and was crowned the Emperor of India. His righteous mind was however still afflicted by the thought of the heavy carnage wrought by him to win his kingdom and in order to expiate therefor, he with his brothers and Draupadī retired to the Himālayas, placing Parikṣit, the son of Abhimanyu by Uttarā, on the throne. As they tried to ascend it, one after another of them fell dead on the snows. Draupadī was the first to fall, then Sahadeva, Nakula, Arjuna and Bhīma. Yudhiṣṭhira only survived and was borne to the heavens in a celestial car. There he saw all the warriors who had died in the battle, *viz.* Karṇa, Droṇa, Bhīṣma and others and as Indra introduced them to him, he said.*

These and other mighty warriors, in the earthly battle slain,
By their valour and their virtue walk the bright ethereal plain.
They have cast their mortal bodies, crossed the radiant gates of heaven
For to win celestial mansions, unto-mortals it is given.
Let them strive by kindly action, gentle speech, endurance long,
Brighter life and holier future unto sons of men belong.*

* Dutt's Mahābhārata.

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CHAPTER VIII.

THE KING AND THE STATE.

A very remarkable feature of this period is that while the history of the one preceding it had to be gleaned chiefly from books dealing with the religion of the Aryans, we derive our knowledge of this period from works of a more secular nature *viz.* the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata. Both of them give us a very faithful picture of the civilisation of the times and we will submit to our readers as succinct an account as we can, of its leading features, beginning with an account of the political organization of the time.

It has been already stated in a previous chapter that during the period of the Brāhmaṇas, owing to the expanse of territory and the corresponding increase in the responsibility of the king, a number of offices were created to assist the king, in the difficult work of administering his kingdom. In the period, which we are now considering additions continued to be made thereto and we find, mentioned in Chapter V of the Sabhāparva, the officer of the fort, the leader of the army in battle, the physician and the astrologer. A more exhaustive list is given in a later part of the same Chapter, where the names of as many as eighteen different officers of the state are given. *viz.* (1) The Mantrī or the chief minister (2) the Purohita (3) the Yuvarāja or heir apparent (4) the commander of the army (5) the Dvārapāla or the keeper of the gate, whose duty probably resembled that of an aid-de-camp, (6) the keeper of the inner apartments (7) the chief of the prisons

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(8) the lord of the treasury (9) the comptroller of expenditure (10) the head of the menials (11) the chief of the city (12) the chief secretary (13) the head of the religious department (14) the president of the council (15) the chief magistrate (16) the keeper of the forts (17) the guardian of the city and (18) the guardian of the forests.

The power of the king was as a rule absolute, though there were petty states, where a somewhat different form of government was in vogue. An account thereof has been preserved to us in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and as we have here the earliest reference to the kingdoms established in the different parts of India, we quote it in extenso.

> "The Vāsavas then inaugurated him (Indra) in the eastern direction during thirty one days by these three Ṛk verses, the Yajus verse and the great words (all just mentioned) for the sake of obtaining universal sovereignty. Hence all kings of eastern nations are inaugurated to universal sovereignty and called "Samrāj" *i. e.* universal sovereign, after the precedent made by the gods
>
> "Then the Rudras inaugurated Indra in the southern region during thirty one days, with the three Ṛk verses, the Yajus and the great words (just mentioned) for obtaining enjoyment) of pleasures. Hence all kings of living creatures in the southern region are inaugurated for the enjoyment of pleasures and called Bhoja *i. e.* the enjoyer
>
> "Then the divine Ādityas inaugurated him in the western region during thirty one days with those three Ṛk verses, the Yajus verse and those great words for obtaining independent

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rule. Hence all kings of the Nichyas and Apāchyas in the western countries are inaugurated to independent rule and called "independent rulers."

"Then the Viśvedevāh inaugurated him during thirty one days in the northern region by those three Ṛk verses &c. for distinguished rule. Hence all people living in northern countries beyond the Himālaya such as the Uttara Kurus, the Uttara Mādras are inaugurated for living without a king and called Virāj *i. e.* without a king.

"Then the divine Sādhyas and Aptyas inaugurated Indra during thirty one days in the middle region which is a firmly established footing (the immoveable centre) to the kingship (rājya). Hence the kings of the Kuru Pañchālas with the Vaśas and Uśīnaras are inaugurated to kingship and called kings (Rājā).*

From these paragraphs, it is clear that kingship was firmly established in the east and in the middle region—the country of the Kuru Pañchālas. In the south, the form of government was still unsettled and in the west, the persons managing the affairs of tribes had not still attained the dignity of kingship. The Uttara Kurus and the Uttara Mādras were still a free people and the institution of kingship was unknown among them.

An interesting question regarding ancient Indian history is whether the people had a voice in the administration of the state. The evidence indubitably points to

* Aitareya Brāhmaṇa VIII. 3-14.

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the fact that they had, and we therefore find king Daśaratha consulting them when he intended to abdicate the throne in favour of Rāma. The speech made by him has been quoted in a previous chapter. We will now quote the passage giving a description of the response given by the people.

Then when the gathered throng had learned
His will who right and gain discerned
Peasant and townsman, priest and chief
All met in consultation brief,
And soon agreed with one accord,
Gave answer to their sovereign lord.
"King of the land, we know thee old
Thousands of years have over thee rolled.
Rāma thy son, we pray, anoint
And at thy, side his place appoint
Our gallant prince so brave and strong
Riding in royal state along,
Our eyes with joyful pride will see
Screened by the shade that shelters thee.*

So again, the people are consulted when after Rāma's departure, king Daśaratha dies of a broken heart and the throne is without a king. It is said,

"That night of sorrow passed away
And rose again the god of day.
Then, all the twice born peers of state
Together met for high debate.
And turning to Vasistha, best
Of household priests, him thus addressed
The night of bitter woe has past
Which seemed a hundred years to last
Our king in sorrow for his son
Reunion with the few has won.
Let one of old Iksvāku's race
Obtain this day the sovereign's place.
Or havoc and destruction straight
Our kingless land will devastate;
We will obey thy word and will

* Griffith's Rāmāyaṇa.

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As if our king were living still;
As keeps his bounds the faithful sea
So we observe thy high decree.*

Here then we have a typical instance of the extent of influence which the people exercised in the administration of the affairs of the state. The form of government was however strictly monarchical and the people dreaded the evils of anarchy as will appear from the following passage.

"In kingless lands, no thunder's voice
No lightning wreaths, the heart rejoice
Nor does Parjanya's heavenly rain
Descend upon the burning plain
Where none is king, the sower's hand
Casts not the seed upon the land;
The son against the father strives
And husbands fail to rule their wives;
In kingless realms, no princes call
Their friends to meet in crowded hall
No joyful citizens resort
To garden trim or sacred court.
In kingless realms, no twice born care
To sacrifice with text and prayer;
In kingless lands no wealthy swain
Who keeps the herd and reaps the grain,
Lies sleeping, blest with ample store
Securely near his open door.
In kingless realms, no merchant bands
Who travel forth to distant lands
With precious waves their wagons load
And fear no danger on the road.†

In fact, they feared anarchy so much that we find it laid down "that if a powerful person wishing to conquer a state which has either no king or a weak king approaches, it is wise for the people to welcome him, for nothing is more heinous than the sins of anarchy. If he is well pleased, it will be all well, but if he is enraged, he will destroy everything. A cow that gives milk with difficulty is tormented

* Griffith's Rāmāyana.

† Griffith's Rāmāyana.

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more and more but one that is easily milked nobody troubles.*

The divine right of kings was implicitly acknowledged. Thus, we find it stated in the Śānti Parva that a king should not be slighted under the idea that he is a man, for a king is a great deity, in the form of a human being. On the other hand, a high ideal was laid down for the king. "A king" we are told in the same Parva "ought to divide his time equally among Dharma, Artha and Kāma. His mornings he should devote to his religious duties, the afternoon to the concern of the State and the evenings to pleasure and enjoyment. He should not sleep the whole night but rising early in the morning think over the means of securing the prosperity of the people. He should never consider a matter alone nor with more than one man. His measures should always be swiftly carried out, after being well thought of. He should secure the services of even one learned man by the sacrifice of a thousand fools. He should reward his learned men with presents. He should constantly render resistance to his relatives and elders, to old men, to traders and artisans and to his servants who may be in needy circumstances. He should not remove officers who are doing their duty satisfactorily without any misdeed being proved against them." It is further laid down that "he should avoid all vices. He should never be mirthful and jest with his servants. He should always try to please the people and work for their good. In the same manner, as a pregnant woman sacrifices her own enjoyments for the sake of the child in the womb, so should the king subordinate his happiness to that of his subjects. He should not covet other men's property and should give what is due at the proper time. He should feed those

* Śānti Parva—chapter 67.

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who are weak and incapable or distressed. He should never disrespect brave men and should always converse with old and experienced people. He should not pass his time in idleness. He should on no account give up courage under any circumstances. Well dressed and of pleasing appearance, he should always allow his people to see him freely and explain their grievances to him.*

An equally important chapter in this connection is Chapter VI of the Sabhā Parva wherein the sage Nārada inquires of king Yudhiṣṭhira if he had ascertained that the subjects were not harassed and were happy in his reign, enumerating the cases where it was likely that there would be misgovernment and also the measures necessary for a good government. Nārada says :—

O king of the dynasty of Bharata ! do you see that men who are avaricious, dishonest, malicious or incompetent are not appointed to administer the affairs of your state ; that your country is not oppressed by thieves, greedy people, your princes, your queens or by you ? Are the big tanks situated in different parts of your territory, sufficient for purposes of irrigation, so that agriculture may not depend solely upon rain from the sky ? Is it the case that cultivators find it difficult to earn their livelihood or to obtain seeds required for cultivation ? Do you favour the cultivators staying in your territory with loans of money at the rate of one per cent. per mensem ? Do virtuous traders pass their days in happiness by attending to cultivating trade, the rearing of cattle or loans repaid with interest ? Are the officers put by you in charge of towns, brave, competent and virtuous and do they secure the welfare of the country by their united efforts ? Do you appoint strong men to guard your villages in the

* The translation followed is that of Mr. C. V. Vaidya in his Epic India.

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same manner as you appoint them to guard the towns and have you appointed brave persons to take care of the forest clad villages on the frontier as you appoint them in the villages? Again, do the owners of villages, large or small, remit the amount collected to the chief officer of the town and does the latter officer transmit it to the ruler of the land? Do persons appointed to administer your country submit reports to you about the amount collected? Does your army pursue the thieves who roam about, destroying villages by their inroads? You must of course be protecting women, giving them good advice and not revealing to them any confidential matter.*

Here then we have an excellent epitome of the principles which should guide rulers in the difficult work of administration in all climes and at all times. A very remarkable feature about it is that we find therein a distinct reference to those questions which still trouble our legislators and administrators *viz.* the indebtedness of the agricultural classes, the advance of Tagavi to them for maintenance and buying seeds and carrying out schemes of irrigation to obviate chances of the occurrence of famine, on a failure of the monsoon. In fact, the whole passage looks so modern that one is inclined to think that it must have been interpolated in quite recent times. However, as no writer has put down the date of the recasting of the Mahābhārata to so late a date, the only conclusion the paragraph leads to is that civilization in the third period was much higher than is generally supposed and that it had attained almost to modern perfection.

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* P. C. Roy's translation of the Mahābhārata.

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CHAPTER IX.

THE KING'S REVENUE AND THE ORGANIZATION OF THE ARMY.

The chief source of the king's revenue was land, the amount levied, in the beginning, being one tenth of the produce realised therefrom, and one sixth of that in the time of the Mahābhārata (Śānti Parva 69-25). He further received one fiftieth part of the gold and cattle belonging to his subjects. It is not possible to say how the amount was assessed but it is stated that in taxing trade, attention should be paid to the price the trader has to pay for his article, the price realised by him, the expense he has incurred and the money required for his maintenance.

Cattle were given in kind and kings often possessed large herds of them. The same principles were applied in taxing artizans and they were also under an obligation to render free service to the state whenever the state required their services—an obligation which still survives in the form of Veth Bigār. It would also seem that mines were worked and salt manufactured, under the supervision of the state, for, it is stated in one place that kings should appoint for mines and salt, ministers who are either related to him or who are thoroughly trustworthy. The passage also emphasises the necessity of trustworthy persons being appointed for Śulka, river crossings and elephant forces, of which Śulka was probably something of the nature of customs duty. It is difficult to say what was the function of the officer appointed for the river crossings. The object may be to levy duty on goods landed there, as Mr.

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Vaidya is inclined to think or he might be an officer appointed to look to the safety of the passengers and goods, coming and going by the river or the sea.

As regards the system of administration of land revenue, it appears from Chapter 87 of the Śānti Parva that a head man or Grāmādhipati was appointed for every village. Above him was an officer in charge of ten villages, who was in his turn subordinate to one in charge of twenty. The officer next to him had one hundered villages under him, the highest revenue official being one who had to look after a thousand. It was the duty of the owner or headman of every village to decide every dispute arising in the village and he had also to keep himself informed of all that happened in the village and to report it to his immediate superior. The last mentioned official transmitted it in his turn to the one in charge of twenty villages and so on, in the order mentioned above. The village headman provided himself with all necessaries of life, from the village produce and at the same time contributed towards the maintenance of the officer next above him. The last mentioned officer had, in like manner, to arrange for the maintenance of the officer in charge of twenty villages. The mode of reimbursing the officer in charge of a hundred villages was different, he being as a rule endowed with a large populous village which he held, subject to the authority of the person in charge of one thousand villages. The last mentioned officer had to see that the villagers were not oppressed by persons under him and had to make arrangements to take the field whenever there was an occassion to do so. He received the income of a city in lieu of his services and was subordinate to the Sachiva who was the highest civil officer.

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Administration of justice was the privilege of the king, but his increasing responsibilities and the ceaseless attention he had to pay to the securing of his kingdom from the attacks of the enemies made it necessary for him to appoint some person who would share the work with him and the post of the Amātya and the Magistrate were newly created. The work entrusted to the latter officer was chiefly criminal and the Amātya's duties also appear to be of the same kind, for it is mentioned in verse 105 of Chapter 5 of the Sabhā Parva, that thieves and other offenders were sent to him with the things stolen. The cases which the king heard were thus generally civil and he was assisted therein by a council consisting of four Brāhmaṇas learned, married and of good character ; eight Kṣatriyas powerful and armed ; twenty one rich Vaiśyas ; three Śūdras clean and courteous and a Sūta endowed with eight qualities and above fifty years of age, his eight ministers being also present. Books dealing with civil law having not yet been written, the king decided civil cases in accordance with local usage and customs, as ascertained from the evidence of experts. In the matter of crimes, a book entitled Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa and giving a list of crimes had been compiled but it provided for the expatiation of crimes by religious ceremonies and it was thus not of much use. As was natural, the king sometimes went astray and we therefore find Bhīṣma advising Yudhiṣṭhira as follows :—

" Take no secret money for the decision of a case in some one's favour ; otherwise sin will overtake you. The people will flee from you, as birds fly from an eagle and the kingdom will go to ruin. The king ought always to give redress to the weak man who is oppressed by a stronger man and who comes crying for justice. If the defendant

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denies, then decide on the strength of witnesses. Where there are no witnesses or no defendants, then you shall have to decide with great care. Award punishment commensurate with the crime. Inflict fines on rich men, imprisonment on the poor and stripes on the ill-behaved. He who murders a king should be killed in a terrible fashion, so also an incendiary, a thief and a defiler of caste."

A branch of administration to which the king paid special attention was the army. A constant dread of an attack from a neighbouring state or from outside made it incumbent on him to keep it in a high state of efficiency and the Mahābhārata is never tired of impressing upon him the necessity of attending carefully to everything connected therewith. Thus in Chapter V of the Sabhā Parva, Nārada asks Yudhiṣṭhira,

"Is the commander of thy forces possessed of sufficient confidence, brave, intelligent, patient, well-conducted, of good birth, devoted to thee and competent? Treatest thou with consideration and regard the chief of thy army that are skilled in every kind of warfare, are forward, well behaved and endowed with prowess? Givest thou to thy troops in the appointed time, their sanctioned rations and pay? Thou dost not oppress them by withholding these? Knowest thou that the misery caused by arrears of pay and irregularity in the distribution of rations, leadeth the troops to mutiny and that is called by the learned one of the greatest of mischiefs? Are all the principal men, high born and devoted to thee, ready with cheerfulness to lay down their lives in battle for thy sake? I hope no single individual of passions uncontrolled is ever permitted by thee to rule, as he likes, many concerns together appertaining to the army. Is any servant of thine who hath accomplished well a particular business by the expenditure

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of especial ability disappointed in obtaining from thee a little more regard and an increase of food and pay. Dost thou support, O bull of the Bharata race, the wives and children of men that have given their lives for thee and have been distressed on thy account."*

It is easy to see from what is said above that the army at this early period of Indian history required to be as carefully attended to as now. As regards its organization, it consisted of four chief divisions, *viz.* the Infantry, the Cavalry, the charioteers, and the elephant corps, with the necessary complement of means of transport, such as carts and boats. One patti represented the unit of the army, and consisted of one chariot, one elephant, five foot soldiers and three horses. Three Pattis made one Senāmukh and three Senāmukhas one Gulma, three Gulmas one Gaṇa and three Gaṇas one Vāhinī. Higher still we have,

3 Vāhinīs = 1 Pṛtnā.
3 Pṛtnās = 1 Chamū.
3 Chamūs = 1 Anīkinī.
10 Anīkinīs = 1 Akṣauhiṇī.

The Akṣauhiṇī thus consisted of 21870 chariots, an equa number of elephants, 109350 foot and 65610 horses.

The Infantry carried a bow, a sword or a battle-axe and the cavalry, a lance and a sword. The charioteers were equipped with all these instruments and their body was protected by an armour. A number of other instruments are mentioned such as Khaḍga, Sula, Paraśu and Prāsa, of which Khaḍga was a short sword, and the Sula must have been an instrument of the type of the modern bayonet. Paraśu, the three pointed instrument with which Paraśurāma annihilated the Kṣatriyas was an instrument which was much in use then but which fell into disuse in

* P. C. Roy's translation of the Mahābhārata.

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later times. Another important instrument was the mace generally used by warriors in trials of strength. Some provinces were skilled in the use of particular weapons. Thus, the people of Gāndhāra and Sindh were famous for fighting with sharp prāsas, and the people in the east for fighting with elephants. The Uśīnaras were well versed in the use of every sort of weapons while the people from the south were skilled in the use of the sword.

An instrument frequently mentioned in the Epics but about which very few details are available is the Astra. It is said to be endowed with superhuman prowess, producing fire, lightning or rain, according to the exigencies of the hour, and given by the gods to a person as a mark of their special favour. According to the formalities prescribed therefor, the person wielding it began by invoking the assistance of the god by whom it was given and after making the necessary arrangements for its perfect action, he used to discharge it against the foe. It differed from other instruments of war in as much as its action could be stopped at the will of the owner. Owing to the havoc it worked, it was a general rule that the Astra should be put into operation only against a foe who was himself skilled therein.

A few words may be said regarding the chariot used in war in the Epic period. It was a four wheeled structure drawn by swift horses, gorgeously capparisoned and inured to the battle-field, surmounted by a dome on which flew the ensign of the warrior occupying the chariot. It was open at the sides, and persons skilled in warfare were therefore employed to protect it from the attack of the enemy. In front thereof, was the charioteer who too was an experienced soldier skilled in the use of all sorts of weapons and perfectly adept in the management of the

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horses. In fact, as the carwarrior was dependent solely upon him for a correct movement of the car and for not putting him in a false position, we do not unfrequently find the work of the charioteer done by a ruler or an equally great personage. A peculiar feature of the chariot of the times was that drums used to beat automatically with its movement.

Besides the army, the king also depended upon fortifications for the defence of his territory from the attacks of invaders. Six varieties thereof are mentioned in the Mahābhārata *viz.* a waterfort, a ground-fort, a hill-fort, a men-fort, a mud-fort and a jungle-fort. A water-fort was probably not one constructed by manual labour but formed by a vast expanse of water surrounding a city and thus preventing any easy access thereto. So also a jungle-fort was one formed by a dense jungle situated on all the sides of the city. The ground-fort, the hill-fort and the mud-fort are too welknown to require any description. Menfort was apparently something of the nature of a modern cantonment.

The Mahābhārata states in great details, the time when the military operations should be begun, the preliminary inquiry to be made before the country of an enemy is invaded and the circumstances favorable for achieving success. It also describes the position of vantage for the different components of the army. Thus, it is mentioned that for cavalry, the spot most suitable is a vast expansive tract, not bounded by any fort or embankment or broken by fissures, while for chariots, a place without mud and not rendered uneven by mounds or hillocks is to be desired. A watery tract of land or land full of grass is fit for elephants, while for infantry, the spot most convenient for

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action is one having a number of forts, or one overgrown with grass or bamboo or a hilly or mountainous region.

A very remarkable passage in the Mahābhārata is the one describing the steps a king, put on the defensive, should take. It says " he should retire to his chief fortress and remove his cattle from the Jungle and keep them on the highways. He should lay his own country waste and remove all the villagers to the important towns. Rich men should be removed to fortified places which should have garrisons from the army. What cannot be removed should be burnt including grass, bridges and passages of rivers should be destroyed. All accumulated water should be let loose and such as cannot be let loose should be vitiated by poison. All small jungle about the fort should be cut down and of large and tall trees, the branches should be lopped off but no tree belonging to a temple should be touched. On the forts, Pragandis and Akasajananis should be constructed while the moats should be filled up and provided with concealed spikes and crocodiles. There should be secret gates for egress from the town, to be used in case of necessity. Fuels should be collected, new wells dug and old wells cleared ; huts covered with grass should be smeared with mud. Food should be prepared at night. All fires should be stopped except the sacrificial fire for the protection of the city. It should be notified through criers that he who lits fire by day would be punished soverely. All beggars, cartmen, eunuchs, madmen and dancers should be turned out of the town, as they are very dangerous. Spies should be kept in the principal thorough fares, in holy places and in places of general resort. Arsenals, armours, elephant and horse stables should not be allowed to be visited by anybody. Materials should be collected

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such as oil, fat, honey, butter, medicine, grass, Palaja, fuel and poisoned arrows."

This indeed is sound well-considered counsel, which despite the number of centuries that have rolled on since the days of the Mahābhārata is invariably followed even now by the enemy on the defensive. A different note runs through the advice which Nārada gives to Yudhisthira regarding the time suitable for offensive operations. Nārada asks,

"O bull of the Bharata race, marchest thou without loss of time and reflecting well upon three kinds of forces against thy foe, when thou hearest he is in distress? O subjugator of all foes, beginneth thou thy march, when the time cometh, having taken into consideration, all the omens you might see, and convinced that the resolutions thou hast formed and the defect in their execution, depend upon the twelve Maṇḍalas such as reserves, ambuscades &c., and having paid the troops their pay in advance. And, O persecutor of all foes, givest thou gems and jewels as they deserve unto the principal officers of thy enemy, without thy enemy's knowledge. O son of Pṛthā, seekest thou to conquer thy incensed foes, that are slaves of their passions, having first conquered thy own soul and obtained the mastery over thy own senses? Before thou marchest out against thy foes, dost thou properly employ the four arts of conciliation, giving wealth, producing disunion and application of strength. O, Monarch, goest thou against thy enemies, having first strengthened thy own kingdom? And having gone out against them, exertest thou to the utmost to obtain victory over them? O, oppressor of all foes, O great king, I hope thou slayest thy foes without regarding their seasons of reaping and of famine."

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CHAPTER X.

TRADE AND INDUSTRIES.

It is somewhat strange to find that although the Rājadharma section of the Śānti Parva enunciates a number of principles to be observed in administering the civil and military affairs of a state, it says very little about its duties in the matter of promotion of trade and industries. This silence is the more difficult to explain because as mentioned in a previous Chapter, India carried on trade with Egypt and Babylon in teak, sandalwood, ivory, precious stones and muslin, as early as 3000 B. C. Can it be that the bulk of the trade was still in the hands of the Dravidians? A number of facts appear to point to the conclusion. Firstly, the articles exported, it will be noted are the peculiar products of Southern India. Secondly, it does not appear that the chief ports which carried on trade with foreign countries *viz.* Surpāraka and Bhṛgukacha were under the sway of the Aryans; and Dwārakā which, as we have seen, was once in their possession but was subsequently wrested from the hands of Raivata, of the dynasty founded by Śaryāti, the fourth son of Manu, by the Rākṣasas named Punyajanas was not regained till the close of the Epic period. Fourthly, even in the interior, Aryan princes like Rāma and Bharata had to depend on the chiefs of the aboriginal races when they had to cross rivers in boats, and lastly, Arjuna is said to have travelled in distant countries by land, but he is nowhere said to have crossed the sea.

From these facts, we may well infer that the Indo-Aryans had not any trading relations with the countries

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beyond the seas and that their activity was confined strictly to the interior. Agriculture was their chief source of livelihood, and seventeen kinds of grain were grown, the chief among them being rice, wheat, barley, pulse and beans. Besides these, the cultivation of Indigo was also carried on an extensive scale and it was exported to Egypt whose inhabitants according to Lassen wore clothes dyed therewith. Fruits were also grown and they had attained considerable efficiency therein, as may be inferred from the fact that mango trees were made to yield fruit within five years. They depended chiefly on the monsoon for the purpose of agriculture but the sturdy warriors of the Ṛgveda had learnt by experience that it was not safe to depend solely upon Indra's favor for the rains and irrigation works were also constructed to provide for a contingency. Irrigation by means of wells was also known.

The rearing and breeding of cattle was another important avocation of the Aryans, and they had become complete masters of the art. Thus, Sahadeva when he seeks employment as a cowherd in the court of Virāta says " Under me, cows multiply in a short time, nor does any decease appear among them. I know the marks of oxen which are fit to be prized and by smelling whose urine, even a barren woman may bring forth a child." The art of training horses and elephants was also thoroughly known and special treatises were compiled on the subject dealing with the characteristics of the animals, the diseases to which they were liable, their treatment, the mode of breaking them and correcting their vices. The original works have been unfortunately lost but some traces of it have been preserved in the Agni Purāṇa. A quotation therefrom relating the marks of a good elephant will give a good idea of the progress made in this branch of knowledge.

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"The elephants that are of good height, capable of enduring a large amount of fatigue, possessed of twenty or eighteen foot nails and exude a sort of cool and transparent exudation from their temples even in winter, and whose right tusks are more elevated than the left ones which invariably attain to a large size, with large and well developed flapping ears, marked by a net of little dotlike marks and whose colour resembles that of pregnant rain cloud should only be kept in the royal stud."*

As regards horses, we are told that a horse possessing a lesser number of teeth than usual, or the one entirely divested of them, as well as the one possessed of a black tongue or palate, or the one that has a frightful look or a twin born horse born without the testes or the one having cleft hoofs or with a horn on the region of its forehead or a tricoloured horse or the one coloured like a tiger or a flame coloured horse or one with abnormally developed palate, the one whose nostrils possess a black hue or the one resembling a Tittira bird in colour or the one whose legs are unequal and are marked by patches of white as well as one divested of those ring like curls which are known as the Avartas or the one that on the contrary has them at the inauspicious parts of its body and wrongly involuted should be scrupulously rejected from the stable.†

The Aryans had also attained great excellence in the art of manufacturing cloth. As mentioned in Chapter IX, Book I, they were acquainted therewith from the earliest times and we have frequent references to it in the Ṛgveda. Some scholars are however of the opinion that they learnt it from the Dravidians and the question has

* M. N. Dutt's translation of the Agni Purana p. 1057.
† Do, p. 1065.

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not still been settled. It may however be said that frequent references to it in the Ṛgveda, coupled with the fact that there is no word in the Dravidian language which corresponds to the Sanskrit term for it—Karpasa—justify us in concluding that the Aryans did not owe their knowledge of it to the Dravidians but learnt it quite independent of them.

Among the places noted for its trade in cotton cloth, the chief was Bhṛgukacha or Broach which even now is famous therefor. Another place noted for it was the country of the Cholas and the Pāṇḍyas, the cloth manufactured there, being of a specially fine texture, according to verse 35 of the 52nd section of the Sabhā Parva. As the Babylonians term for cotton cloth is Sindhu, we must suppose that it was not exported direct from these places but was sent up to the mouth of the Indus, by the route described before.

Cloth of silk and wool was also made and India was famed as much for these as for the cloth made of cotton. The silk required for the purpose was obtained from China, and it is therefore called the land of the Koṣakaras that is, the land where grows the worm which yields the thread of silken clothes. On the other hand, woolen cloth was a speciality of the country round Kashmir and we have a reference thereto in the Rāmāyaṇa, where Bharata on leaving his uncle's house is presented with shawls, kambals and carpets and in the Mahābhārata, where the king of Kāmboja is said to have presented to Yudhiṣṭhira, superior cloth made from the hair of sheep, of animals living in holes and of cats. The art of mixing cotton with silk or wool was also known, as may be inferred from the fact that fine silken and woolen cloth "unmixed with

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cotton" is said to be presented to Yudhiṣṭhira by the northern kings.

Besides cloth made of cotton, wool and silk, India carried on a lucrative trade in metals, precious stones and pearls. Of these, pearls were obtained from Ceylon and the precious stones from the country of the Cholas and the Pāṇḍyas. Gold was at the time found so near the surface that gold dust used to be collected from the diggings thrown out by ants, a fact noticed in the Mahābhārata and confirmed by the statements of almost all Greek historians on the subject. According to the Section 52 of the Sabhā Parva, it was collected by the Khāsas, Ekāsaanas, the Arhas, the Pradaras, the Dīrgha veṇus, the Pāradas, the Kuliṅgas and the Taṅgaṇas who dwelt by the side of the river Śailodā flowing between the mountains of Meru and Mandarāchala.

Of the inferior metals, the Aryans were acquainted with the use of iron, zinc and lead. The manufacture of steel was also known and a number of articles, such as swords, lances, armours &c. made of them. Whenever necessary, artizans were aided by the State and received therefrom materials, instruments and maintenance lasting for not more than four months.

India in the Epic period was thus a great industrial and commercial country, carrying on a thriving trade in muslin, silk and woolen manufactures as also in gold, pearls and precious stones. On account of the immense lapse of time, we have not got as much contemporary evidence as we would otherwise have, but occasional references are not wanting. Thus as observed by Mr. Mookerjee in his history of Indian Shipping—there is mention in the book of Genesis of a company of traders with their camels bearing spices, balm and myrrh, going to

P. 91-92.

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Egypt. In the days of Solomon (about 1015 B. C.), there could be supplied from India alone, the ivory, garments, armour, spices and peacocks which found customers in ancient Syria. In the book of Kings, it is stated how the ships of Solomon come to Ophir and fetched from thence gold, plenty of almug trees, precious stones and the like. In the book of Ezekeil, which dwells on the commerce of Tyre, there are mentioned commodities which are undoubtedly of Indian origin. Even in the Mosaic period (1492-1450 B. C.) precious stones which were to a great extent a speciality of India and the neighbourning countries appear to have been well known and were already highly valued."

Archaeological evidence supports the conclusions which the above references lead to. Thus according to Lenormant in the abundant booty, loading the vessel of Pharaoh for conveyance to the land of Egypt appear a great many Indian animals and products, not indigenous to the soil of Yemen, elephant's teeth, gold, precious stones, sandalwood and monkeys and the labours of Bohlen confirming those of Heeren and in their turn, confirmed by those of Lassen have established the existence of a maritime commerce between India and Arabia from the very earliest period of humanity.

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CHAPTER XI.

SOCIAL LIFE.

The social life of the Aryans in the Epic period was characterised by the same features that marked it in the Vedic age. The father continued to be the head of the family and to exercise those powers which generally vest in the 'pater familias.' He had the right of managing his affairs in any manner he deemed best and his word was law. He had also the right to give away his daughter in marriage and though the Gandharva form of marriage, according to which a girl could wed any person she liked, was recognised, the consent of the father was always required to legitimise the union.

Polygamy was allowed and appears to have been the fashion at the end of Epic period for Arjuna, Bhīma and Duryodhana had all more wives than one. There is however a considerable difference of opinion as to whether the custom of polyandry obtained among them. Those who hold that it did, of course cite the instance of the Pāṇḍavas marrying a single wife and the very explicit statement made by Yudhiṣṭhira to the effect that such was the custom among them. On the other hand, it is argued that the astonishment with which the proposal made by them was everywhere received, the story about the previous birth of the Pāṇḍavas, narrated by Vyāsa, to allay the perturbance caused in the mind of the father of Draupadī and the paucity of instances which Yudhiṣṭhira is able to cite in support of his request go to establish the fact that polyandry was not current among them. It is thus not possible to come to any definite conclusions in the

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matter and the question is still wrapped in considerable ambiguity.

As regards the forms of marriage, the Mahābhārata mentions the eight forms of marriage which are referred to in the later Smṛtis, *viz.*

(1) The Brahma marriage, in which the father pours out a libation of water and gives his daughter to a suitor—a student.

(2) Daiva marriage, in which the father decks his daughter with ornaments and gives her to an officiating priest, when the sacrifice is being performed.

(3) Arsha marriage in which the father gives his daughter for a cow or a bull.

(4) Prajāpatya in which the father gives away his daughter to a suitor, simply saying "fulfil ye the law conjointly."

(5) Gandharva marriage in which the lover takes and weds a loving damsel.

(6) Rākṣasa marriage in which the bridegroom forcibly takes a damsel, destroying her relatives by strength of arms.

(7) Asura marriage in which the suitor purchases a damsel from his father.

(8) Paiśācha marriage. In this form, a man embraced a woman deprived of consciousness.

Of these, the first four were approved and the other four condemned, the Paiśācha form being considered the basest. It will be seen from the description of the first four forms given above that they mark the different stages in the development of the idea of marriage from sale to gift. The other four probably prevailed among the tribes

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of the Gandharvas, the Rākṣasas, the Asuras and the Paiśāchas and were named accordingly. The practice of Niyoga or raising issue on the widow of a dead man was also in vogue and was frequently resorted to both by the high and the low.

An institution which was very popular among the ladies of the time was the Svayamvara wherein a woman selected her own husband out of a number of persons suing for her hand. Generally, a test requiring extraordinary skill was prescribed and the person who complied therewith was wedded to the princess. In some cases, however, she had even greater freedom and was allowed to select any one she liked from among those who were present on the occasion. The most welknown instances of the former kind are the Svayamvaras held in honour of Sītā and Draupadī and of the latter, the one held by Damyantī when she married Nala.

It follows from what is said above that girls married at an advanced age, for otherwise, they would not be in a position to select their husband themselves. Women were, as a rule, educated and there are instances of learned women such as Gārgī and Maitreyī who took an active part in philosophical discussions. The work which they however generally attended to was the management of household affairs and attending to the comforts of the members of the family. The most pleasing trait in their character was their devotion to their husbands and we have an excellent picture thereof in Chapter 263 of the Vana Parva, where Draupadī explains to the wife of Śri Kṛṣṇa the way in which she won the affection of her husband. "Leaving aside pride and anger" she says "I always serve my husbands with their other wives. I am always afraid of speaking a bad word, standing in a bad

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posture, glancing in a bad manner, siting in a bad position and going in a bad place and I avoid guessing the intentions of my husbands. I do not look at another man, be he a god or a young well decked man or a rich or noble person. I do not take food before my husband dines or sleep before he goes to bed. Whenever my husband returns from the field or the forest or the village, I always stand up and receive him with offerings of water and a seat. I wash the plots clean, prepare food well, give it to my husband at the proper time, preserve the provisions carefully and keep the house well swept. I do not keep company with bad women and giving up idleness always strive to please my husbands. I avoid jesting or laughter or standing in the front door or frequenting public places or keeping long in the compound of my house. When my husband goes away on a journey for the sake of the family, I put on neither flowers nor pigments. I do not take what my husband does not drink or eat or like. I observe the family customs carefully. I serve guests and Brāhmaṇas carefully and know everything which is done by the servants beginning with the goatherd or cowherd. I watch carefully the income and expenditure of the house."*

A very remarkable feature of the social life in the Epic period is the marked development of the caste system. As mentioned before, the people of India were in the age of the Ṛgveda divided into two great sections, the fair complexioned Aryans and the dark complexioned Dasyus. Later on, as society became more complex, the Aryans became subdivided into three subsections, the Brāhmaṇas, the Kṣatriyas and the Vaiśyas, of whom the Brāhmaṇas attended to the performance of sacrifices, the Kṣatriyas to pursuits of a warlike kind and the Vaiśyas to agriculture.

* Epic India by C. V. Vaidya.

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The great mass of the aboriginal community formed still a separate class and though such among them as proved themselves equal to the Aryans by a meritorious life and by their learning were allowed to perform as well as join with the Aryans in the performance of sacrifices, they were not allowed to marry an Aryan woman nor did the Aryans marry any woman of the Śūdra community. In the Epic period, however, this state of things was changed, probably because there was at its commencement a fresh invasion of the Aryans, who as mentioned in Chapter I—Book II were not able to bring a sufficient number of women with them owing to the difficulty of the route by which they crossed over to India, and had therefore to marry women of the aboriginal tribe. It is also likely that long contact with the Dravidians had removed from the mind of the Aryans the repugnance they felt for them when they first came and settled in India and the feeling must have diminished still further when the more gifted of the Dravidian races had adopted Aryan customs and manners and shown themselves by no means inferior to them in any respect. Lastly, it must be said that their morality too was getting lax and that the Aryan of the Epic period was not the high souled, noble Aryan of the Ṛgveda, proud of his race and birth but one whose morals had become corrupt to a considerable extent on account of the prevalence of such customs as Niyoga and polyandry.

All these causes combined to remove the bar which had hitherto existed in the matter of marriage with the Śūdras and connections with them became frequent. The more thoughtful members of the community naturally condemned this laxity and protested against the offspring of such people being considered legitimate. They even refused to apply to them the name of the Aryans and a number of

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terms were invented to name the mixed race that was thus produced. Thus according to Chapter 48 of the Anuśasana Parva, a son born to a Brāhmaṇ of a Śudra woman was called a Pārśava and it was laid down that his position was inferior to that of sons born of the woman of the three other castes, even though he was the eldest. The son born to a Kṣatriya of a Śūdra wife was called Ugra and regarded as non-Aryan. Even intercourse with the Vaiśya class which was once allowed was now prohibited and their progeny called by the name of Ambaṣṭha.

For obvious reasons, the repugnance felt against an Aryan woman marrying a Śūdra was still greater and the offspring of such marriage was enjoined to live outside the city and to do the work of an executioner, being called a Chāṇḍāla. The son born to a Vaiśya of a Brāhmaṇ woman was called Vaidehaka and the one born to a Kṣatriya of such a woman was known as Sūta and it was laid down that the latter should be entrusted with the management of the king's stable and the former with that of his inner apartments. Besides these, a number of other classes are mentioned and as they are likely to interest persons engaged in the study of sociology, we give their names with their description.

(1) A Māgadha or Bandī was a son born to a Kṣatriya woman of a Vaiśya, who generally did the work of a bard.
(2) Āyogava—a son born to a Vaiśya woman of a Śūdra.
(3) Āyogava Sairandhra—race born of the union of an Āyogava male and a Sairandhra or a Magadha woman.
(4) Maireyaka—a tribe living chiefly on drinks and born of a Vaideha and a Sairandhra or a Magadha woman.
(5) Madgur—a tribe living on navigation, born of the union of a Niṣāda with a Sairandhra or a Magadha woman.
(6) Śvapāka—a race born of such a woman and a Chāṇḍāla.

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(7) Andhra—a race born of the union of a Niṣāda woman and a Vaidehaka.
(8) Pâṇḍu Saupāka—a race born of a Niṣāda woman and a Chāṇḍāla.
(9) Āhindaka—a tribe born of a Vaideha woman and a Niṣāda.
(10) Saupāka—a tribe born of a Vaideha woman and a Chāṇḍāla.
(11) Madranābha—a tribe allied to the Niṣādas who used to ride on asses.
(12) Kukkuṭaka—a tribe born of a Niṣāda woman and a Sudra.
(13) Vasāyin—a tribe born of a Niṣāda woman and a Chāṇḍāla.
(14) Kāravar—a race born of a Niṣada woman and a Chāmadia female.
(15) Pulkas—a tribe allied to the Chāṇḍālas which subsisted on the eating of the flesh of the ass, the horse and the elephant.

We will next say a few words regarding the education of the times. Elementary education consisting of a knowledge of the three "R"s, *viz.* reading, writing and arithmetic was imparted chiefly at home, both to boys and girls. The girls did not continue their studies unless they had a special aptitude for it but the boys, as they grew up, were sent to schools maintained by learned men in different parts of the country. There they lived with their teachers aided them in the performance of sacrificial rites and the management of household affairs and were taught such subjects as suited their condition in life and the career they had set out for themselves. After the course of their study was over, they returned home paying to their teacher a suitable amount in return for his services, and

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settled down as peaceful householders. Some however continued their studies further, attending Pariṣads held at the court of learned princes to discuss questions, relating to religion and philosophy. A few also retired to the forests, meditating upon the problems of life in the solitude of their sylvan home.

In the matter of food, we find glimpses of an inclination towards a vegetarian diet in preference to animal food. This was no doubt primarily due to the fact that a large variety of grain was obtainable in India on account of the extreme fertility of the soil. Another fact which contributed to the same result was the great necessity of preserving cattle for purposes of cultivation. Lastly, we may conjecture that the excellent quality of the milk of the cow and the buffalo and the varied confectionery prepared in India therefrom raised still more the importance attached to them by the people and led them to take special measures for their preservation.

As a first step towards it, the slaughter of animals for the purposes of sacrifice was prohibited and grain was declared to be a fit substitute therefor. They however took a long time to take the step, *viz.* of prohibiting the taking of animal flesh as food altogether. There is indeed an interesting passage in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, where the propriety of eating the flesh of a cow or an ox is discussed but from notices of the matter both in the Brāhmaṇas and in the Epics, it is clear that animal food was resorted to freely in the Epic period. Thus it is stated in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa that an animal was killed on the occasion of a visit of a king or a guest. (I. 15). Again, at the time of the Aśvamedha performed by Yudhiṣṭhira just after the great war, a number of birds and oxen are said to have been sacrificed and it is stated that the

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people saw no end to the several kinds of sweet food that were prepared and of the animals that were killed.

Flesh of particular animals and birds was however prohibited to the Brāhmaṇas and we have a detailed account thereof in Chapter 36 of the Śānti Parva, where it is stated that "the bull, earth, little ants, worms generated in dirt and poison should not be eaten by the Brahmaṇas. They are also asked not to eat fishes that have no scales, and four footed aquatic animals like frogs and others, except tortoise. Water fowls, swans, eagles, chakravākas, diving ducks, cranes, crows, madgus, vultures, hawks, owls as also four footed animals that are carnivorous and have sharp and long teeth and birds and animals having two teeth and those having four teeth and food that was offered to the manes"—all these were also prohibited. The Brāhmaṇ was also directed not to eat the food of a shoemaker, a carpenter, a washerman, a physician, a prisoner, and a gambler.

The fondness of the Aryans for liquor which we noticed in a previous Chapter continued unabated in the period we are considering and they used to drink it freely on all festive occasions, so that when the Emperor Yudhiṣṭhira celebrated the Aśvamedha sacrifice, 'there was a sea of liquor and intoxicating juice.' It was also taken by warriors as they proceeded to fight and many a hero of the Mahābhārata war is spoken of as having taken large quantities thereof. It was further considered to be the fittest offering to gods and Sītā when she crosses the Ganges vows to propitiate the river with jars of liquor if she returns with her husband safe from her fourteen years' exile. In fact, so excessive was their addition to wine, that as observed in the Gangopkhyāna of the Rāmāyaṇa, it earned for the Indian branch of the Aryans the name of

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Suras, those who used to drink wine—in contrast with the Asuras or the Iranian branch who abstained therefrom.

It is difficult to get from the Epics a correct idea of the pastimes of the ancient Indians. From stray notices regarding them, it however appears that the ball and the stick was one of their chief amusements. Boys of Kṣatriyas used to practise archery and swimming was also a favourite pastime. Grown up men were very fond of the game at dice and there was a lot of betting, as may be inferred from the fact that the Pāṇḍavas gambled away their kingdom, their liberty and even their wife, when playing with the Kauravas. Nala too lost his kingdom while playing with a rival to the throne and had to retire to the forests.

We will now conclude this Chapter after saying a few words regarding the dress of the Aryans. It was simple in the extreme and consisted of a plain sheet of white cotton cloth wound round the waist. The dress of the females was similiar but it was large enough to enable them to cover the whole body. Shawls, blankets and other articles of wool manufactured in Kashmir and the country round about, were also in vogue and silk cloth was worn by males and females on special occasions. Cloth made of grass was used by anchorites and persons living in the forests and, although it looks somewhat strange, was in use even in the times of the Greeks, for Herodotus has noticed the fact the Indians used to wear garments made of rushes.

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CHAPTER XII.

THE TWO GREAT EPICS OF INDIA.

Having now given an account of the political, religious and social institutions of India in the third period of its ancient history, we will proceed to give a short account of the two great epics from which that account has been compiled.

And first as regard the Rāmāyaṇa. It is written by Vālmīki who, in the invocation, is called the son of Prachetas—Prometheus or Forethinker, as Schlegel translates the word but this account is no doubt mythical, intended only to emphasize the fact that he was the father of Epic poetry. Later on, he is introduced in his real character as the Ṛṣi who gave shelter to Sītā when she was banished by Rāma on account of her abduction by Rāvaṇa and brought up her two sons, Lava and Kuśa. The main feature of the work written by him is that it is written regularly in the Anuṣṭubha metre, consisting of four padas or lines, each consisting of eight syllables. This sort of metre was not unknown to Vedic poetry but Vālmīki modified it in two important particulars by laying it down that the fifth syllable of the first and the third lines should be long while the seventh of the second and the fourth should be short. This form of poetry became very popular and as is usual with Sanskrit writers, an interesting story is told to explain the circumstances under which this happened.

Vālmīki, it is said, was once wandering in a forest, when he saw a fowler kill with an arrow a male crane who was sporting with his female. The shrieks of the female

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bird, her fright, and her intense agony as disclosed by the unceasing fluttering of her wings moved the heart of the venerable Ṛṣi and he sportaneously gave utterance to the following couplet —

Mā nisādapratisthāmtvamagamahs'as'vātiḥ samāḥ.
Yatkraunchamithunādekamavadhīḥ, kāma mohitam

which Griffith translates as follows :—

"No fame be thine for endless time
Because, base outcaste of thy crime
Whose cruel hand was fain to slay
One of this gentle pair at play."

The gods hailed this exclamation with delight and showered flowers upon him and Brahmā was so pleased that he descended from the heavens and commanded Vālmiki, to write the history of Rāma in the same strain. The order was obeyed and the work begun and finished.

The Rāmāyaṇa is divided into seven Kāṇḍas or books of which the first—Bāla Kāṇda describes the period of Rāma's boyhood, the second Ayodhyā Kāṇda the period after Rāma's return from the court of Janaka upto his banishment, and the third, Araṇya Kāṇda, of the first years of exile. The fourth Kāṇda Kiṣkindhā treats of Rāma's sojourn in Mysore ; the fifth gives a description of Ceylon, and the sixth of the battle of Rāma with Rāvaṇa and the recovery of Sītā. The seventh Kāṇḍa called the Uttara Kāṇḍa details the events that happened after Rāma's return to Ayodhyā.

The Rāmāyaṇa which we now possess, is however not the original because frequent additions were made to it from time to time. The reasons which led to these alterations and additions have been discussed with great learning by Mr. C. V. Vaidya in his book the Riddle of Rāmāyaṇa and after a careful consideration of the subject,

* The Riddle of the Rāmāyaṇa p. 50.

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he comes to the conclusion that the various reasons which led to the expansion of the old Rāmāyaṇa, were firstly, the theory of Rāma being an incarnation of Viṣṇu; secondly, the theory that the Rāmāyaṇa was the first Sargabandha Kāvya; thirdly, poetical embellishment; fourthly, the desire to make the Rāmāyaṇa a depository of legendary lore; fifthly, the desire to make it a depository of knowledge; lastly, the desire to exaggerate the marvellous.

The Mahābhārata or the second great Epic of India is composed by Vyāsa, who is also said to have compiled the Vedas. His personality is not clouded in any such obscurity as we find in the case of Vālmīki because it is distinctly stated that he was born of Matsyagandhā—afterwards known as Satyavatī—by Parāśara while she was yet unmarried and was thus the half brother of Vichitravīrya, the grandfather of the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas. As originally composed, it consisted of 24000 Ślokas only but as stated in the Ādi Parva, accounts of other kings and dynasties were subsequently added, so that the total amounted to one hundred thousand Ślokas. Vyāsa then read it to his son Śuka and to four other Ṛṣis *viz.* Sumantu, Jaimini, Paila and Vaiśampāyana, of whom the last mentioned recited it before Janamejaya the son of Parikṣit, when he was performing the Sarpa Yajna. Ugraśravā, the son of Lomaharṣaṇa heard it on the occasion and recited it before Śaunaka and other Ṛṣis, staying in the Naimiṣāraṇya. The Saṁhitā which we have is thus evidently the work of Vaiśampāyana and consists of 84836 Ślokas. If to this, the Harivaṁśa is added, the total number of Ślokas comes to about one hundered thousand.

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The number of Parvas and of the Slokas which each of them contain is as follows :—

1	Ādi Parva	8884	11	Stri Parva	775
2	Sabhā Parva	2511	12	Śānti Parva	14732
3	Vana Parva	11664	13	Anuśasana Parva	8000
4	Virāṭa Parva	2050	14	Aśvamedha Parva	3320
5	Udyoga Parva	6698	15	Āśramvāsī Parva	1506
6	Bhīṣma Parva	5884	16	Mausal Parva	320
7	Droṇa Parva	8909	17	Mahāprasthānik Parva	320
8	Karṇa Parva	4964	18	Svargārohaṇa Parva	209
9	Śalya Parva	3220	19	Harivaṁśa	12000
10	Sauptik Parva	870			
				Total	96836

Of these, the Ādi Parva as its name denotes, introduces the various personages who play an important part in the Mahābhārata war, and gives a history of the events that happened until the marriage of the Pāṇḍavas with Draupadī. The Sabhā Parva treats of the Rājasūya sacrifice celebrated by Yudhiṣṭhira and of his losing all his territory at the game of dice and his banishment; the Vana Parva, of the fourteen years of exile and the Virāṭa Parva, of their stay in the territory of the king of Virāṭa during the last year of the exile. The Udyoga Parva details their preparations for the final struggle and the next four Parvas, of the events that happened under the leadership of Bhīṣma, Droṇa, Karṇa and Śalya of the Kaurava army. The Sauptik describes the destruction of Dhṛṣṭadyumna, the son of Drupada, and of the sons of Draupadī by Aśvatthāmā and the Strī Parva of the lamentations of Gāndhārī and other princesses at the loss of their husbands and children. The Śānti Parva and the Anuśasana Parva deal with a variety of subjects

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of great interest to the student of history and religion and the next four with the events that happened after the return of the Pāṇḍavas to Hastināpura. The Harivaṁśa is a supplement giving a history of the Yādavas after the termination of the great war.

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BOOK IV.

CHAPTER I.

THE RISE OF THE MAGADHA LINE AND THE DECLINE OF THE SOLAR AND THE LUNAR DYNASTIES.

Parīkṣit, the son of Abhimanyu who was consecrated king by the Pāṇḍavas when they repaired to the Himālayas did not long enjoy the sovereignty which fell to his lot. According to the Mahābhārata, he once went on a hunting expedition and lost his way in the wilderness, while pursuing a deer. Fortunately, however, he happened at last to reach the hermitage of a Ṛṣi named Śamīka and asked him if he knew anything of the deer he was pursuing. The Ṛṣi being steeped in meditation did not give him any reply which made the king wild and taking up a dead serpent, he threw it round the neck of the Ṛṣi. He was still so deeply engrossed in meditation that he did not notice this wanton insult on the part of the king but his son returned some time after and seeing what had happened cursed the king that he will die of a snake bite. This proved true and inspite of all precautions, the king was bitten by a snake and died of its poison.

He was succeeded by his son Janamejaya who soon after he ascended the throne invaded Takṣaśilā—a city in the neighbourhood of Kalakaserai according to General Cunningham—and reduced it to subjection, causing its ruler Takṣaka, the king of the Pannagas to flee. He then

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celebrated the Aśvamedha in the city of Āsandīvat, the officiating priest being Tura, the son of Kavaṣa according to the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and Indrota Daivāpi Śaunaka according to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. It was in his court that the Mahābhārata as composed by Vyāsa was recited by Vaiśaṁpāyana.

Janamejaya was succeeded by his son Śatānīka but no important event is recorded to have happened in his reign or in the reign of his successors up to Nichakru. In his time, Hastināpura was swept away by the Ganges so that the capital was transferred to Kauśāmbī. We have then a long list of kings but no details of their reigns are given, the only information, the Purāṇas give, being that "the race which gave origin to Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas and which was purified by regal sages, terminated with Kṣemaka in the Kali age."

The details of the two other dynasties given in the Purāṇas *viz.* the Solar race and the Magadha line are equally meagre. Thus, in the case of the Solar race, we have only the names of the kings from Bṛhadbala upto Sumitra and the remark that the descendants of Ikṣvāku terminated with him. With regard to the other dynasty, the Vāyu and the Matsya mention, for the first time, the number of years for which each of the kings ruled, but these details are not thoroughly reliable, for while the Purāṇas agree generally in stating that the Bārhadrathas reigned for a thousand years, the total of the years for which each ruler reigned comes to 937 years, according to the Vāyu Purāṇa and 817 years, according to the Matsya Purāṇa. If however we include in this dynasty, the line of Pradyota, which though mentioned separately is, in fact, descended from the Bārhadrathas, the total comes to 1075 years, according to Vāyu and 962 years according to

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Matsya and this agrees approximately with the reign of 1000 years ascribed to them.

The number of rulers of the Pradyota dynasty is only five. Though they are descended from Ripunjaya the last king of the Magadha line, they are mentioned as belonging to a different dynasty, evidently because Pradyota came to power not by inheritance but by the intrigues of the minister of his father, Sunika who put the father to death and placed his son on the throne. After their decline, the Śiśunāgas came to power, so called after Śiśunāga, the founder of the line. Both according to the Vāyu and the Matsya, he was at first residing in Kāśi but he relinquished it to his son and established himself in Rājagṛha, the capital of Magadha. The number of rulers of the line is stated to be ten in all but of these, two only appear to have played an important part in Indian history *viz.* Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru, both of whom were contemporaries of Buddha.

The Purāṇas give us no information about any dynasty other than these but we have a detailed account of the one which ruled in Kashmir in the Rājataraṇgiṇī.

The book was written about 1148-9 A.D. but from the remarks made by its author, it appears that he compiled it from works which were written considerably earlier, *viz.* the Nilmata Purāṇa, the Nṛpāvalī of Kṣemendra and two works written by Padmamihira and Chavillākara. The account given in the Rājataraṇgiṇī therefore begins from a king who was a contemporary of the Pāṇḍavas *viz.* Gonanda I.

The king was an ally and relation of Jarāsandha, the powerful ruler of Magadha, referred to in Chapter V of Book III and aided him in besieging Mathurā, then in the

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hands of Kṛṣṇa. The result in the graphic words of the Rājataraṇgiṇī was that "when he pitched his camp on the bank of the Kālindī (Yamunā), the fame of the hostile warriors disappeared together with the smile of the women of the Yādava race." He however did not fare equally well with Balabhadra, the brother of Kṛṣṇa and was ultimately killed in a combat with him.

He was succeeded by his son Dāmodara I, who tried to revenge his father's death by attacking the Yādavas when they were invited to attend a Svayaṁvara held by the Gāndhāras but he failed in his attempt and was slain. Kṛṣṇa thereupon placed his widow Yaśovatī who was then with child, in charge of the kingdom, though he met with some opposition, the procedure being unusual. She gave birth to a son soon after and even though an infant, the child was consecrated king and called Gonanda II, the affairs of the state being administered by the minister. It was because the king was an infant, says Kalhaṇa, that his aid was not taken either by the Kurus or the Pāṇḍavas.

Gonanda II was followed by thirty-five kings but their names are unfortunately lost, owing to the destruction of the works containing their account. The next king was Lava who is said to have founded the town of Lolora "consisting of eighty four lacks of stone buildings.' He also bestowed on the Brāhmaṇas, the Agrahāra of Levāra on the Ledarī, the modern Lidr, one of the principal tributaries of the Vitastā. On his death, his son Kuśa ascended the throne and being like his father, a pious prince, bestowed on the Brāhmaṇas, the Agrahāra of Kuruhāra.

"After him, his son the illustrious Khagendra obtained the throne, the destroyer of the elephant array of his foes, a leader of men, an abode of valour.

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He established the two chief Agrahāras, Khāgi and Khonanmuṣa and then ascended to the world (above) which he had purchased by deeds bright like (the glitter of) Śiva's (teeth in) smiling.

Then ruled his son Surendra possessed of priceless greatness who was far removed from sinfulness (or) whose state resembled that of Indra, though lacking its continuity and whose deeds astonished the world."

Surendra died childless and the kingdom thereupon passed to Godhara, a scion of another family. He too was a pious prince like his predecessors and bestowed on the Brāhmaṇas, the Agrahāras of Godharā Hastiśālā identified by Dr. Stein, the learned annotator of the Rājataraṇgiṇī with Gudar, a village of about twenty houses on the right bank of the Viśokā (Veśau) river and Asthel in the Divsar Parganah. His son Suvarṇa continued the munificence of his father and constructed a canal called Suvarṇamaṇi after him in the Kerāla Viṣaya, the ancient name of the district in which the modern Zaṁpor is situated. He was succeeded by his son Janaka who bestowed the Agrahāra of Jālora—and the latter by his son, Śachīnara who founded the Agrahāras of Samāṅgāsā and Sauāra. The king died without issue and the kingdom thereupon passed to Aśoka, the great.

We may next consider in brief the synchronisms of the four dynasties whose account we have given in this and the preceding chapters. The paucity of information regarding the events that happened in the reigns of these kings makes it difficult to ascertain their position in relation to one another but we will make use of such brief notices as we have in the books, for the purpose. The first synchronism is that between Jarāsandha, Gonanda I Kṛṣṇa and Yudhiṣṭhira, of whom the first two are

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mentioned as friends of each other and as enemies of Kṛṣṇa and are also expressly stated to be the contemporaries of Yudhiṣṭhira in the Rājataraṇgiṇī. This would make Abhimanyu and Dāmodara also contemporaries for both were one generation below Yudhiṣṭhira and Gonanda I respectively. Moreover, Gonanda II was an infant at the time of the Mahābhārata war; he may therefore be placed one generation below Abhimanyu who was in the prime of youth at the time, according to the Mahābhārata.

The next synchronism is that between Sākya of the Solar race and Bimbisāra of the Magadha line, both of whom were, according to the records of the Buddhists, personal friends. Moreover, Sākya (Buddha) is said in Buddhistic records to have died in the eighth year of the reign of Ajātaśatru, and to have been succeeded by his son Rāhula and he and Ajātaśatru were thus contemporaries. Again, we have the synchronism of the sons of Nanda of the Magadha line who were displaced by Chandragupta, the grand father of Aśoka and of Suvarṇa, the king of Kashmir as they are all three degrees in ascent from Aśoka.

Lastly, the Kathāsaritsāgara furnishes an important synchronism. According to it, king Sahasranīka of the Lunar dynasty had a son named Udayana who succeeded to the throne of his father. He was however in great dread of Pradyota, the ruler of Magadha and in order to get over the difficulty, his ministers proposed that the king should marry Padmāvatī, the daughter of Pradyota and the end was successfully accomplished. Udayana will thus be one generation below Pradyota and we may identify them with the rulers of these names in the Purāṇas.

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CHAPTER II.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE SŪTRAS.

One might have thought that owing to the destruction wrought by the Mahābhārata war, the literature of the period following it will scarcely have any special features of its own. This however is not the case and it is no doubt surprising to find that it is the richest period of ancient Sanskrit literature. For, it was in this period that legal treatises which were unknown till now were written. It was in this period that the six systems of Indian philosophy known as Pūrva Mīmāṁsa, Uttara Mīmāṁsā, Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, Sāṅkhya and Yoga were founded and it was in this period that all knowledge was reduced to the form of brief concise formulæ known as the Sūtras. To this period also belong the great grammar written by Pāṇini and the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali.

In the present chapter, we shall give a brief sketch of the six systems of Indian philosophy beginning with the Pūrva Mīmāṁsā, ascribed to Jaimini and the Uttara Mīmāṁsā ascribed to Bādarāyaṇa. Of these, etymologically, it would appear as if the Pūrva Mīmāṁsā was the first and Uttara Mīmāṁsā next to that, in order of time and this view derives some support from the fact that the former is expressly called Prāchi in the Sarva Darśana Saṁgraha. Prof. Maxmuller however points out that this view is incorrect and maintains that the Pūrva Mīmāṁsā is so called only because it deals with the Karma Kāṇḍa and the Uttara Mīmāṁsā because it deals with the Gnyāna Kāṇḍa.

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The object of both the Mīmāṁsās is to systematise the study and understanding of the Vedic literature and we therefore find that of the twelve books into which the Pūrva Mīmāṁsā is divided, the first book deals with the obligatory force of Vidhi (injunction), Arthavāda (explanatory passage), Mantra (hymn), Smṛti (tradition) and Nāmadheya (name); the second, with certain subsidiary discussions and the third with the weight to be attached to passages which are in apparent opposition to each other. The fourth book treats of the influence of the principal and subordinate rites on the other rites; the fifth book, of the order of different parts of the sacrifice and the sixth of the qualifications required for persons offering sacrifices. The rest of the books deal with a variety of miscellaneous questions relating to the same subject.

It will thus be seen that the Pūrva Mīmāṁsā is not so much a treatise on philosophy as on the sacrificial system. However, it occasionally refers to questions of some interest. Thus, it is enjoined that at certain sacrifices, the sacrificer should give away all his property to the officiating priest. This raises the important question whether a king should give up all lands including pasture lands, highways, and the sites of lakes and ponds. The answer is that a king has no property in the land; he therefore cannot give it away. The kingly power indeed authorises him to govern the realm but the right of property is not thereby vested in him; else it is said he would have rights of property in the house and the lands belonging to his subjects. It is however added that this does not prevent a king from giving away a house or a field purchased by him.

Jaimini also considers the question whether works themselves produce their fruit without any divine

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interference or whether all actions are directly or indirectly requited by the Lord. Bādarāyaṇa adopted the former view basing it on the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad IV 4-24 where it is said. 'This is indeed the great unborn self, the giver of food, the giver of wealth." Jaimini on the other hand adopted the latter view so that, according to him, the command that he who is desirous of the heavenly world should sacrifice' implies a reward of the sacrificer by means of the sacrifice itself and not by any other agent and he adds that if we supposed that the Lord himself caused rewards and punishment for the acts of men, we should often have to accuse him, of cruelty and partiality and that it is therefore better to allow that all works good or bad produce their own results.

As regards the Pramāṇas or the basis of knowledge, the Pūrva Mīmāṁsā recognises five *viz.* (1) Pratyakṣa or that which is actually perceived by the senses ; (2) Anumāna or Inference (3) Upamāna or knowledge arising by comparison (4) Arthapatti or presumption and (5) Śabda or verbal information derived from authoritative sources. Compared with the Pramāṇas recognised by other schools this test is very comprehensive for the Chārvākas admitted only one *viz.* Pratyakṣa and the Vaiśeṣika two *viz.* Pratyakṣa and Anumāṇa. The Sāṅkhya acknowledged three adding trustworthy information (Āpta Vākya) and the Nyāya four addiug comparisōn (Upamāna).

As observed already, the Uttara Mīmāṁsā differs from the Pūrva Mīmāṁsā in as much as instead of an elaborate discussion about the meaning and importance of sacrificial rites, an attempt is made therein to introduce order into the philosophical teachings of the Upaniṣads and to reduce their guesses to something like system. The fundamental doctrine it inculcates is thus the same as

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that propounded in the Upaniṣads *viz. Aham brahma asmi* (I am Brahma) or what is the same thing in another form *tat tvam asi*, that is to say, thou (jivātman) art it (the Paramātman). To explain it more fully, it teaches the great truth that " thou man art not different from that divine nature which pervades the whole world as salt pervades the sea. You cannot see it, you cannot handle it but you can taste it and know that though invisible it is there. Likewise that divine essence—that which alone is true and real in this real or phenomenal world is present, though invisible, as the germ of life in the smallest seed."*

It is easy to see that this fundamental dogma of the Vedānta contradicts experience (Vyavahāra) which shows us not that unity but a plurality (Nānātvam)-an extension of names and forms, and as a part of them our own self in the form of our created and perishable body. Again, it is in contradiction with the canon of Vedic ritual which though it teaches the combined existence of the soul after the body, assumes a plurality of individual souls different from Brahman entangled in unceasing transmigration and passing at the death of each body into a new body. To these arguments, the Vedāntist answers that both experience and the canon of the Vedic ritual with its commands and prohibitions, promise and threats, rest on false knowledge, and illusion called Avidyā or Ignorance. Owing to it, the Self is unable to distinguish from the Upādhis with which the Soul is clad and which are defined to consist of.

(1) The Mukhya-prāṇa—the vital spirit.

(2) The Manas, the central organ of perception, ready to receive what is conveyed to it by the separate senses and to react on them by will.

* The Six Systems of Indian philosophy—p. 183.

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(3) The Indriyas, the five senses both afferent and efferent. The five afferent senses are the senses of hearing, touch, sight, taste and scent. The five efferent or acting senses are the senses of speaking, grasping, going, evacuating and generating.

(4) The material organic body.

To these is sometimes added the objective environment or the objects or meaning of the senses.

What the Vedāntist aims at is the annihilation of the Avidyā and the freedom of the Self from the Upādhis. This is the true Mokṣa or salvation and it implies the knowledge of the identity of the Ātman with Brahman and the deliverance from birth and rebirth, in the constant evolution of the world. It can neither be produced by wordly means of knowledge (pratyakṣam, anumānam &c.) nor commanded by the canon of the Vedas as a duty, because both are rooted in Avidyā and do not lead beyond it. It can be gained only through knowledge of Ātman attainable by the Vedānta and is independent of performance of works. With a practical turn of thought, the Vedānta philosophy however takes cognisance of the fact that it is only the gifted few who can aspire to the sort of knowledge and consequently, it prescribes for the lay man, Karmakāṇḍa which teaches not how Brahman is to be known, but how he is to be worshipped. This worship (Upāsanā) being enjoined in the Veda is obligatory on all who have not yet reached the highest knowledge and as a reward therefor, they are promised happiness in this world and in the next and a step towards complete Mokṣa or salvation.

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An interesting question which is discussed at some length in the Vedānta philosophy is whether this Mokṣa may be attained by good actions. The answer is not one we would expect, for it is said that all works good as well as evil demand their retribution in the next existence, and hence no performance of works, of whatever kind it may be, ever leads to liberation, but only back again ever to Saṁsāra. "But granted", it is argued "that a person abstains from all works; then there would be no material left for a new life for him and thus after death liberation would be attained." 'Not so' answers the Vedānta philosopher, 'for in the first place one is never certain that there may not be works demanding for their atonement several lives and even if one were successful in getting rid of the evil works by ceremonies, yet the good works will still be left and even these same ceremonies may possibly also bring with them not only this annihilation but in addition, positive fruits to be enjoyed in a future life. And further, it is practically impossible to avoid all works throughout an entire existence so long as the natural disposition of the soul to enjoyment and action persists. So long therefore as this natural disposition is not removed through perfect knowledge, there is no hope of liberation."*

Such is in brief, the outline of the teachings of the Vedānta philosophy regarding the identity of the soul of the individual with Brahman, the Upādhis which conceal it from our view and the way in which its knowledge could be acquired. Besides these subjects, the Brahma Sūtras contain elaborate discussions regarding Brahman as the Cosmic and the Psychic principle, the doctrine of the immortality of the soul and its transmigrations. They are however based on the Upaniṣads and as we have referred

* The System of the Vedānta by Paul Deussen p. 402.

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to these in details in Chapter IV of Book II, it is superfluous to refer to them again in this place. We therefore pass on to consider the leading tenets of the Sāṅkhya system, founded by Kapila.

Our chief authorities are (1) the Tattva Samāsa or Compendium of Principles, (2) the Sāṅkhya Pravachana, also called the Sāṅkhya Sūtra, (3) the Sāṅkhya Sāra written by Vijnāna Bhikṣu, (4) the Sāṅkhya Kārikā by Iśvara Kṛṣṇa, and (5) the chapter on the subject in the Sarva Darśana Saṁgraha. Of these, the Tattva Samāsa is according to Prof. Max Muller, the oldest and the Sāṅkhya Sūtras are supposed to be the latest, because they are not mentioned either by Śankarāchārya or even by the author of the Sarva Darśana Saṁgraha who flourished considerably later *viz.* in the fourteenth century. The best treatise on the subject is the Sāṅkhya Kārikā containing a very concise and clear statement of the leading principles of the Sāṅkhya philosophy and it has been translated into Latin, German, French and English.

The book begins with an explanation of the object with which it is written. This, it says, is to propound the means for removing the three sorts of pains *viz.* the natural and intrinsic, both bodily and mental (Ādhyātmika), the natural and extrinsic (Ādhibhautika) and the divine and supernatural (Ādhidaivika). The visible remedies of pain such as medicine or earthly enjoyments are neither wholly complete nor eternal and the revealed means (the Vedas and the Vedic ritual) are equally inefficient, being connected with impurity, destruction and excess. The only method by which the object can be achieved is a discriminative knowledge of the Unmanifested (Prakṛti or primeval matter), the manifested forms of nature and the knowing soul, for, it enables one to procure that entire

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separation of the soul from matter which is an absolute condition of its perfect deliverance from pain.

The evolution from Prakṛti is thus described :—

> " From nature (Prakṛti) issues the great principle (Mahat, intellect) and from this, the Ego or consciousness ; from this (consciousness) the whole assemblage of the sixteen (principles or entities) and from five of the sixteen, the five gross elements."*

Prakṛti in its unmanifested (Avyakta) state is explained as follows in the Tattva Samāsa :—

> " As in the world various objects such as water-jars, cloth, vases ,beds &c. are manifest, not so is the Avyakta manifest. It is not apprehended by the senses, such as the ear &c., And why ? Because it has neither beginning, middle, nor end, nor has it any parts. It is inaudible, intangible, invisible, indestructible, eternal, without savour and odour. The learned declare it to be without beginning and middle, to be beyond what is great, unchanging, pre-eminent. And again this Avyakta is subtle, without attributes, without beginning or end, producing but alone of all the eight Prakṛtis unproduced, without parts, one only, but common to all."

On the other hand, that which is visible or developed (Vyakta) has a cause ; it is not eternal or universal ; it is mobile, multiform, dependent, attributive, conjunct and subordinate. The first manifestation of Prakṛti is Buddhi. Though Indian writers interpret the word to mean what is called " Intellect " in English, Prof. Max Muller is of opinion that it, at least, in the beginning, must have been

* The Sānkhya Kārikā, translated by Davies p. 54.

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used in a wider and cosmic sense meaning Prakṛti illuminated and intellectualised and rendered capable of becoming at a later time, the germ of Ahaṅkāra, Manas and Indriyas.*

Ahaṅkāra is explained in the same treatise to be the same as Abhimāna, and consists in the belief that I hear, I feel, I see, I taste.

The sixteen principles are as follows :—

The five Tanmātras (essenses) of sound, touch, colour, taste and smell.

The five Buddhīndriyas (perceptive organs) *viz.* the ear, the skin, the eyes, the tongue and the nose.

The five Karamendriyas or organs of action *viz.* voice, hands, feet, the organ of excretion, and the organ of generation and lastly, Manas or mind.

The five gross elements are earth, water, fire, air and ether.

Speaking of the functions of these different organs the Saṇkhya Kārikā states that the five senses simply observe and the five organs of action act according to their functions. The mind (Manas) arranges these impressions and presents them to consciousness ; consciousness (Ahaṅkāra) individualises these impressions as mine and the intellect (Buddhi) distinguishes and discriminates and forms them into ideas.

As regards the question to what is the diverse phenomenon we meet with in the world due, the answer given is that it is due to the three Guṅas which are inherent in Prakṛti, *viz.* Sattva (purity), Rajas, (passion) and Tamas (darkness) ; when they are in equilibrium, it

* Six Systems of Indian Philosophy by Max Muller p. 323.

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(the Prakṛti) is in a quiescent stage and it acts when the equilibrium is disturbed, giving rise alternately to Pralayas and creation.

Such are the leading tenets of the Sāṅkhya philosophy. Although generally speaking, they are not derived from the Upaniṣads, they are not altogether foreign to their teachings. Thus, we find it mentioned in the Kāṭhaka Upaniṣad, (III. 10-11) that beyond the objects is the mind (Manas), beyond the mind is intellect (Buddhi); the Great Self (Mahān Ātmā) is beyond the intellect. Beyond the Great Self, there is the Undeveloped (Avyakta), beyond the undeveloped, there is the Puruṣa; beyond the Puruṣa, there is nothing. This is goal, the highest point. So also the theory of the Pralaya is known to the Vedānta which states that at the end of each Kalpa, a Pralaya or dissolution of the universe occurs and Brahman is then reduced to its causal condition, containing both soul and matter, in an Avyakta (undeveloped) state.

There is however one point regarding which the teaching of the Sāṅkhya philosophy differs crucially from that of the Vedānta. It does not believe in the doctrine of the Universal Soul. Individual souls, it admits, do exist, because the material world developed out of Prakṛti must be presumed to have been meant for the enjoyment of some entity outside it and also because there must be a power which guides and controls the material organism of the body. Again, the three Guṇas being the source of pleasure and pain, the sentient nature which feels the pleasure or pain must, it is said, be said distinct from them but this distinct entity or the soul is not one. The souls are as numerous as the births or deaths happening in the world or the pursuits which men follow. Further

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every one of these souls is, according to the Sāṇkhya philosophy, enveloped in a body formed from the subtle elements of nature called the Liṅga Śarīra. It enters the womb, and forms the nucleus round which the bodily frame derived from the mother develops. This latter body perishes at death but the Liṅga Śarīra survives and passes through a series of transmigrations until it attains complete emancipation.

The Sāṅkhya idea of emancipation is briefly this. All pain according to it is the result of 'rajas,' all grossness and ignorance of 'tamas' and all knowledge, pleasure and peace, of 'Sattva.' All experience consists of mental representation in which the Sattva is obscured by the nature or property of the representation and this is the root of evil. The act of the mind cognising object or taking the shape of objects presented to it is called 'Vṛtti' or transformation. It is the 'Vṛtti' which being coloured by the presentation imports the same colour to Sattva and causes evil, misery, ignorance and the like. All objects are made of the three 'guṇas' and when the 'Vṛtti' sees everywhere nothing but 'Sattva' to the exclusion of the other two, presentation and representation become purely 'Sāttvika' and the internal 'Sattva' of the cogniser realises itself everywhere and in everything. The bright and blissful image of the ever present 'Puruṣa' who is beyond change is then reflected in the clear mirror of Sattva and supreme bliss or Kaivalya follows.

The question regarding the existence of God is only raised by Kapila incidentally, in the course of his explaining the meaning of Pratyakṣa or sensuous perception. He defines it to mean cognition arising from actual contact between the senses and their respective objects, whereupon

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the Pūrvapakṣi or his opponent remarks that it is faulty because it does not include the perception of Iśvara or God. Kapila answers this by saying that Iśvara has never been proved to exist at all and there the discussion ends.

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CHAPTER III.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE SŪTRAS—(*Contd.*)

The Yoga System accepts "in toto" the principles of the Sāṅkhya philosophy but it differs from it in one important particular; for in place of the agnosticism of Kapila, we have therein a belief in Iśvara, the Lord who is never touched by sufferings, actions, rewards or consequent dispositions. It is therefore often called Seśvara or Theistic Sāṅkhya, to distinguish it from the other called Nirīśvara or Atheistic.

Its conception of Iśvara is however peculiar, for he is introduced simply for the purpose of meditation and not on account of his having anything to do with creation. As observed by Rājendralāl Mitra, the leading tenets of the Yogins, are first that there, is a supreme Godhead, who is purely spiritual or all soul, perfectly free from afflictions, works, deserts and desires. His symbol is one and He rewards those who are ardently devoted to him by facilitating their attainment of liberation; but He does not directly grant it. Nor is He the father, creator or protector of the universe with which He is absolutely unconnected."

Besides this, there is in the Yoga system, no discussion of a philosophical nature properly so called, for the chief purpose which it has in mind is to prescribe the means by which the action and distractions of thought may be restrained, enabling one to concentrate his mind for the purpose of attaining eternal bliss. Two preliminary steps are prescribed in this connection *viz.* exercise

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(Abhyāsa) defined to be an effort towards the steadiness (Sthiti) of thought, so that the mind being free from all activity (Vṛtti) remains in its own character, that is, unchanged and (2) freedom from passions (Vairāgya), in which there is no desire for any objects whatsoever, whether visible or revealed. The means prescribed for attaining this object are forbearance (*Yama*), observance (*niyama*), posture (*āsana*), regulation of breath (*prāṇāyāma*), abstraction, contemplation, absorption and trance. Forbearance consists in abstaining from killing, falsehood, theft, incontinence and greediness. Observance consists in purity, contentment, mortification, study and resignation to Iśvara. In case, any one of the tendencies indicated under these two heads is not fully sustained on account of other inadequate thoughts, the best way to escape from their disconcerting effects is, it is said, to think about their opposites ; for example, when abstinence from killing is disturbed by a desire to kill, the way to eliminate the disturbing element is by thinking upon its opposite *viz.* the quality of love which one who is devoted to Yoga must possess and which if given up will only lead to endless misery.

Posture is that which is steady and easy, being so made by mild effort and meditation on the endless. Some of these are specified and among them, the chief are as follows:—

Padmāsana :—In this case, the right foot is placed on the left thigh and the left foot on the right thigh ; the hands are crossed and the two great toes firmly held thereby ; the chin is then bent down on the chest and in this posture, the eyes are directed to the tip of the nose.

2. Vīrāsana :—Each foot is placed under the thigh of its side and this constitutes Vīrāsana or the posture adopted by warriors or men of the military class.

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3. Bhadrāsana :—The hands are placed in the form of a tortoise in front of the scrotum and under the feet and this is the Bhadrāsana or the fortunate seat.

4. Svastikāsana :—Sitting straight with the feet placed under the opposite thighs is called Svastikāsana or cross seat.

5. Daṇḍāsana :—is sitting with fingers grasping the ankles brought together and with feet placed extended on the legs.

Prāṇāyāma, the next means—prescribed is regulating the expulsion and retention of the breath and is performed as follows :—

The Yogin having assumed the Padmāsana posture inhales at the left nostril and having retained the breath for the time he easily can, lets it off at the opposite nostril and repeats the same process beginning with the nostril where he exhales. This will make one Prāṇāyama and is performed four times a day *viz.* in the morning, in the noon, in the evening and at midnight. The number of Prāṇāyāma performed is then steadily increased until at last, he is able to perform eighty Prāṇāyāmas every time.

When this stage is reached, the senses are controlled and the mind becomes centred in Sattva, realising Sattva everywhere and for all time. Prakṛti has played itself out so far as that individual is concerned and the 'puruṣa' alone shines in all its splendour.

Such are in brief, the leading tenets of the Yoga philosophy. Of the two systems which still remain to be described *viz.* the Nyāya and the Vaiśeṣika, the ideal which the Nyāya has in view is to pave the way for a state beyond which there is nothing better (Niḥśreyasa) and this, it says, can be achieved if a person understands the sixteen great topics of the Nyāya philosophy *viz* :—

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(1) Pramāṇa—basis of knowledge (2) Prameya—objects of knowledge (3) Saṁśaya—doubt (4) Prayojana—purpose (5) Dṛṣṭānta—example (6) Siddhānta—established truth (7) Avyava—premisses (8) Tarka—reasoning (9) Nirṇayà—conclusion (10) Vāda—argumentation (11) Jalpa—sophistry (12) Vitanda—wrangling (13) Hetvābhāsa—fallacies (14) Chhala—quibbles (15) Jati, false analogies (16) Nigrahasthān—unfitness for arguing.

The basis of knowledge according to this philosophy are only four *viz.* 'pratyakṣa' or that which is actually perceived by the senses, 'anumāna' (inference), upamāna (comparison) and śabda (word) which is explained to mean, the precept of one worthy to be trusted or 'the right precept.'

It therefore differs from the Sāṅkhya which only admits of three Pramāṇas, omitting comparison and from the Mimānsakas, who recognize five, adding presumption. The objects of knowledge are next mentioned *viz.* (1) Self or Soul (2) Body (3) Organs of sense *viz.* those of smell, taste, sight, touch and hearing, (4) Object of senses *viz.* earth, water, light, air and ether as also the qualities of the earth *viz.* smell, taste, colour, touch and sound; the qualities of water *viz.* taste, colour, touch and sound; the qualites of air *viz.* touch and sound; and qualities of ether *viz.* sound, (5) Understanding (6) Mind (7) Activity (8) Faults (9) Transmigration (10) Rewards of deeds (11) Suffering (12) Final beatitude.

All these objects of knowledge are clearly defined and there is an interesting discussion regarding their properties. The subject which is very ably and clearly argued is the relation of mind (Manas), understanding (Buddhi), the body (Śarīra) and the soul (Ātman). Buddhi is explained to be the result of experience and memory

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and to be the same thing as knowledge. Manas is that which receives the impression of the senses from outside and regulates them preventing the confusion which would otherwise result from a number of impressions being received all at once. Memory, doubt, imagination; dreaming and feelings of pleasure and pain are its manifestations and it is of the size of an atom but eternal.

The above disquisition leads Gotama to the question, from what does knowledge arise? His opinion is that it arises from the conjunction on the one hand, of Ātman (Self) with Manas (mind) and on the other hand, of Manas with the Indriyas. It, he observes, cannot belong to the mind alone because it is only an instrument of knowledge and it cannot belong to the senses and their objects because it abides even when the senses and what they perceive have been suppressed.

We have besides these, learned discussion about the nature of the Padārthas but of these we will only notice that regarding the 7th Padārtha *viz.* Avyava or the premisses, which form the Indian syllogism. The Sanskrit conception is that it consists of five parts, instead of the three parts which characterise the Grecian syllogism owing to the fact that here we have, besides the major premiss, the minor premiss and conclusion, a statement of the proposition to be proved and the reason adduced in support thereof. Thus, the Hindu syllogism runs as follows:—

1. The hill is fiery.
2. For it smokes.
3. Whatever smokes is fiery.
4. The hill is smoking.
5. Therefore it is fiery.

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The general truth with underlies the proposition is called its 'Vyāpti.' On the other hand, the special condition or limitation which detracts therefrom is called the 'Upādhi.' Thus, although it is true that whatever smokes is fiery, it is not true that smoke invariably accompanies fire. This is the case only when the fuel is moist and this is called the Upādhi.

Inferences are further declared to be of three kinds. It is Pūrvavat when what is inferred is antecedent, it is Seṣavat when that is subsequent and Samānyat Dṛṣṭa, when it is based on what is constantly seen together. Thus when we see a river rising, we infer that it has rained (Pūrvavat Inference). On the other hand, when we see peacocks screaming, we infer that it will rain (Śeṣavat Inference). The third sort of inference is intended to cover those cases in which we infer the existence of something supersensible from the sensible, as is the case when we infer the existence of senses from the fact that we perceive colour &c.

The Vaiśeṣika system founded by Kaṇāda is closely related to the Nyāya philosophy. It has however several features peculiar to it and of these one which is characterstic thereof is the theory of atoms. It is not unknown to the Nyāya system because as observed above, the Naiyāyikas regard the mind as an atom and in another place, *viz.* in IV 8-82, it is said that the 'Anus' are realities which cannot be reduced or compressed out of being but it does not go as deep into the subject as the Vaiśeṣika philosopher does nor have the details been worked out as carefully there as in this system. The basis of the theory is that there must be somewhere smallest things that exclude further analysis. These are the atoms which are eternal in themselves but non-eternal, that is, subject to

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decomposition as aggregates. They are also invisible by themselves and their size is compared to the sixth part of a mote in a sunbeam.

As regards the way in which they combine to form a complex body, Kaṇāda's theory is that they first form an aggregate of two, then an aggregate of three double atoms then of four triple atoms and so on. As aggregates, they may be organised, organs, or inorganic. Thus, the human body is earth organised, the power of smelling is the earthly organ, stones are inorganic. Again, there are organic luminous bodies in the Sun. Sight is the luminous organ and burning fire is inorganic. Water, light, and air are said to be eternal in their atomic state and transient as aggregates. Ether, on the other hand, is always eternal and infinite.

The Padārthas or objects of knowledge are classified as (1) Substance (2) Quality (3) Action (4) Genus (5) Species or particularity (Viśeṣa) (6) Inseparability and (7) Negation (Abhāva). Class (1) comprises the five elements (earth, water, fire, air and ether) Time, Space, Self (Ātman) and Mind (Manas). Among the principal qualities are enumerated the qualities of smell, touch, taste and colour, as well as, pleasure and pain ; desire and aversion ; thought (Buddhi) and effort (Prayatna) &c. Actions are defined to consist of (a) throwing upward, (b) throwing downwards (c) contracting (d) expanding and (e) going. Kaṇāda asserts the existence of God because although we do not see Him, we see His work and because work and word are the signs of the substantial existence of beings different from ourselves.

Before concluding our account of the six systems of Indian philosophy, it appears necessary to refer to the

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Chārvākas, the Atheists of India. No work giving a systematic account of their views has been preserved but they are referred to in books like the Sarva Darśana Saṅgraha and it appears therefrom that the origin of the school was ascribed to Bṛhaspati and that it recognized but one authority of knowledge *viz.* sensuous perception. They therefore do not believe in paradise or in salvation and deny the existence of Self. The Vedas and the sacrificial rites are according to them meaningless, devised simply by the Brāhmaṇas for earning their livelihood. Their sole object is to enjoy life even with other people's money and they ridicule the idea that pleasure is to be relinquished because it is accompanied by pain.

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CHAPTER IV.

SOCIAL LIFE.

As mentioned in Chapter II, we have, besides the philosophical Sūtras, Sūtras which enunciate the duties of a man, in relation to his family and his neighbours which are known as the Dharma Sūtras. They also treat of the rules regarding inheritance, of the duties of kings, and the administration of civil and criminal law.

The first duty which the Sūtras inculcate is that of receiving education suitable to the rank and position of the person concerned. Rules intended to guide the people in this matter are laid down with great care and with a precision which is certainly striking. Thus, speaking of the time and the age at which education should begin, Āpastamba, a well known writer on the subject observes as follows :—

"Let him (the teacher) initiate a Brāhmaṇa in spring, a Kṣatriya in summer and a Vaiśya in autumn; a Brāhmaṇa in the eighth year after his conception, a Kṣatriya in the eleventh year after his conception and a Vaiśya in the twelfth year after his conception."

Āpastamba next goes on to mention the years at which education should begin, in case it is intended to achieve excellence in any particular sphere and says :

"Let him initiate a person desirous of excellence, in sacred learning, in his seventh year, a person desirous of long life in his eighth year, a person desirous of manly vigour in his ninth year, a person desirous of food in his

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tenth year, a person desirous of strength in his eleventh year, a person desirous of cattle in his twelfth year."*

There were no schools in the modern sense of the word but those who desired to learn were sent to receive their training under some well known preceptor and to stay with him in his house, until the whole educational course was finished. No fees were charged but the student was required to go for alms, in the morning and in the evening, for the food required for his Guru, his family and all persons dependent on him. He then placed before his teacher, whatever was collected, and was directed to eat only what his Guru gave him. Strict rules were laid down with regard to the student's behaviour when taking his education. Thus Āpastamba says† :—

Let him not be addicted to gossiping.

Let him be discreet.

Let him not do anything for his own pleasure, in places which his teacher frequents.

Let him talk with women so much (only) as his purpose requires.

Let him restrain his organs from seeking illicit objects.

Let him be untiring and fulfilling his duties—modest—possessed of self command—energetic—free from anger and free from envy.

The enumeration of his duties to his teacher shows that strict discipline was enforced. Thus we read,

"Every day he shall put his teacher to bed, after having washed his teacher's feet and after having rubbed him.

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* The Sacred laws of the Āryas S. B. E. Series Vol. II p. 3.

† Do. p. 11.

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2. He shall retire to rest after having received (the teacher's permission).
3. And he shall not stretch out his feet towards him.
5. And he shall not address (the teacher) whilst he himself is in a reclining position.
6. But he may answer the teacher sitting (if the teacher himself is sitting or lying).
7. And if the teacher stands, he shall answer him after having risen also.
8. He shall walk after him, if he walks.
9. He shall run after him, if he runs.
10. He shall not approach (his teacher) with shoes on his feet or his head covered or holding implements in his hands.

The term of studentship was in proportion to the knowledge which a student wished to acquire and was forty-eight years, if he wanted to learn all the Vedas, thirty-six years if he wanted to learn three, twenty-four if he wanted to learn two and twelve years if he wanted to learn only one. This was the shortest period allowed for receiving instruction.

His studies finished, the student had to pay his master a reward in proportion to his status in life and the years which he had spent with the latter. He then returned home and entered the second stage of life—that of the house-holder. He was free to follow any vocation he liked but he was enjoined to perform forty rites on different occasions. Of these, seven comprise what are known as the Gṛhya rites and consisted of the new and full moon rites, the Śrāddha rites performed in honour of deceased ancestors, the Āgrahāyanī rites and various other rites performed in the months of Chaitra, Śrāvaṇa and Aśvina.

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He had also to perform what are called the Śrauta rites consisting of seven sorts of Haviryajnas performed with offerings of rice, milk, butter, meat &c., and the seven sorts of Somayajnas performed with libations of the Soma juice. Lastly, there were nineteen domestic ceremonies to be performed and these consisted (1) Garbhādhāna-ceremony to cause conception (2) Puṁsavana-ceremony to cause the birth of a male child (3) Simantonnayana-arranging the hair of the pregnant wife (4) Jātakarman-ceremony on birth of a child (5) Naming the child: (6) the first feeding: (7) the tonsure of the head (8) the initiation; (9 to 12) the four vows for the study of the Veda (13) the completion of studentship (14) Marriage and (15 to 19) the five sacrifices to gods, manes, men, spirits and Brahman or God.

A duty on which the Sūtras lay much stress is that of hospitality, the reception of guests being characteristically described as an ever-lasting sacrifice offered by the householder to Prajāpati, and the various acts done in receiving him to the different sorts of sacrifices such as the Agniṣṭoma, the Ukthya, the Atirātra &c. The chief rules regarding the reception of guests are as follows :—

> "He (the host) shall go to meet such a guest, honour him according to age, and cause a seat to be given to him. The householder himself shall wash the feet of that (guest); according to some, two Śūdras shall do it." II. 3. 6.
>
> On the second and following days of the guest's stay, the host shall not rise or descend (from his couch) in order to salute his (guest), if he has been saluted before (on the first day).
>
> 2. He shall eat after his guests.

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3. He shall not consume all the flavoured liquids in the house so as to leave nothing for guests.

4. He shall not cause sweetmeats to be prepared for his own sake. (II. 4-8).

"And on the following day, (he shall search for him) feast him to his heart's content and accompany him on his departure.

If the guest possesses a carriage (he shall accompany him) as far as that.

Any other guest, he must accompany, until permission to return is given.

If the guest forgets to give leave to depart, the host may return on reaching the boundary of the village."*

The Dharma Sūtras then describe the duties a man had to perform in the two next stages of life *viz.* of the ascetic and of the hermit in the woods. The ascetic is directed to live without a fire, without a house, without pleasures and without protection. Remaining silent, uttering speech only on the occasion of the daily recitation of the Vedas and begging so much food only, in the village, as would sustain his life, it was his duty to wander about neither caring for this world nor for heaven. The hermit is ordained to put on a dress of materials procured in the woods, and it is laid down that,

He shall wander about, sustaining his life by roots, fruits, leaves and grass.

In the end, he shall live on what he may obtain by chance.

4. Next, he shall live on water, then on air, then on ether.

5. Each following one of these modes of subsistence is distinguished by a greater reward.

* The Sacred Laws of the Aryas S. B. E. Series Vol. II p. 12.

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A special feature of his life is that after having finished the study of the Veda, having taken a wife and kindled the sacred fire, he is enjoined to begin the rites which end with the Soma sacrifice and then to build a dwelling and reside there either with his wife, his children and his fires, or to live alone.

Such are in brief the leading features of the four stages of a man's life according to the Dharma Sūtras, and if he lived in all these four, according to the rules of the law, without allowing himself to be disturbed by anything, salvation was promised to him.

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CHAPTER V.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE STATE.

The section of the Dharma Sūtras dealing with the duties of kings treat chiefly of the punishment of offenders, the selection of servants and his obligations to his subjects. The best discourse on the last mentioned subject is probably that of Gautama who observes as follows :—

The king is master of all, with the exception of Brāhmaṇas.

2. (He shall be) holy in acts and speech.

3. Fully instructed, in the threefold (sacred science) and in logic.

4. Pure, of subdued senses, surrounded by companions, possessing excellent qualities and by the means (for upholding his rule).

5. He shall be impartial towards his subjects.

6. And he shall do what is good for them.

9. He shall protect the castes and orders, in accordance with justice.

10. And those, who leave (the path) of duty, he shall lead back (to it).*

Vasiṣṭha also lays down that†

(1) the measures and weights of objects necessary for households must be guarded against falsification.

(2) The wives of slain soldiers shall be provided for.

Dealing with the subject of treasure trove, Gautama observes (X. 45-50) that

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* The Sacred Laws of the Āryas (S. B. E. Series Vol. II p. 232-3).

† Do. Vol. XIV p. 97-8.

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Treasure Trove is the property of the king excepting such as is found by a Brāhmaṇa who lives according to the law.

45. Some declare that a member of a non-Brāhmanical caste even, who announces (his find to the king) shall obtain one sixth of the value.

46. Having recovered property stolen by thieves, he shall return it to the owner.

47. Or if the stolen property is not recovered, he shall pay its value out of his treasury.

The persons to be exempted from taxation according to Vasiṣṭha, are (1) A Śrotriya ; (2) a servant of the king (3) one who has no protector (4) one who has left the order of houseoulders (5) an infant (6) a very aged man (7) a young man who studies and (8) pradātās. (XIX 23-6) He also directs that no taxes shall be paid on the usufruct of rivers, dry grass, forests, places of combustion and mountains.

Āpastamba's list (II. 10-26) is somewhat different for according to him the persons to be exempted are (1) A learned Brāhmaṇa (2) the women of all castes (3) those who live with a teacher in order to study (4) ascetics who are bent on fulfilling the sacred law (5) a Śūdra who lives by washing the feet (6) blind, deaf and dumb, and diseased persons (as long as their infirmities last) and (7) those to whom the acquisition of property is forbidden.

The administration of justice was regulated by the Vedas, the Institutes of the Sacred Laws, the Aṅgas and the Purāṇas. It is also stated* that the laws of countries castes and families, which are not opposed to the sacred laws have an authority and that cultivators, tradesmen herdsmen, moneylenders and artizans have authority to lay down rules for their respective classes.

* The Sacred Laws of the Āryas (S. B. E. Vol. II p. 234); Gautama XI 19-21.

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For reasons which it is difficult to ascertain, there was a strong variation in the customs of the north and of the south for while it was lawful, in the latter country, to eat in the company of one's wife, to eat in the company of an uninitiated person, to eat stale food, to marry the daughter of a maternal uncle or a paternal aunt, all these were prohibited in the north. On the other hand, it was a recognised practice in the north, to deal in wool, to drink rum, to sell animals that have teeth in the upper and in the lower jaws, to follow the trade of arms and to go to sea, but this was considered sinful in the south.† At the same time, it is stated‡ that one should not take heed of either of these practices, because they are opposed to the recognised customs, and the rule of conduct to be regarded as authoritative is that followed in Āryāvarta, that is, the country to the east of the region where the Sarasvatī disappears, to the west of the Black Forest (Kālaka vana), to the north of the Pāripātra (mountains) and to the south of the Himālaya. Āryāvarta is also defined to be the country between the rivers Yamunā and Ganges, while according to the Bhāllavins, the limits of the country are in the west—the boundary river and in the east—the region where the sun rises, as far as the black antelopes wander.

All the Sūtra authors deal at some length with questions of inheritance, but it appears unnecessary to refer to these here at length and we will close our first volume of the History of India, which as mentioned in the Introduction was to cover the period from the earliest times to the rise of Buddhism. As the reader will remember, we began with an account of the circumstances under

† Sacred Laws of the Āryas (S. B. E. Vol. XIV p. 146); Baudhāyana I. I. 2.
‡ Do. p. 147. Baudhāyana I. 1. 2. 8.

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which the Aryans were compelled to leave their original home in the Arctic regions in the remote past and followed step by step their migrations therefrom to the confines of India. We then considered in detail, the settlement of the Aryans in Punjab, their advance into the heart of the peninsula from this central basis and their ultimate settlement throughout the length and breadth of this vast continent. We also studied their religion and their philosophy and inquired into their social and political organisation. Above all, we saw the steady development of the caste and the sacrificial systems and the firm hold, these institutions obtained over the mind of the people. That closes the most glorious period in the History of India a period in which it developed its highest philosophy which still enchants the scholars of the world.

A new era next dawned and therein we find Gautama Buddha preaching a new religion, a religion whose noble tenets have won for it, unversal admiration. His life and teachings and the revolution his religion effected, in the political and religious life of India will form the subject of Volume II.

End of Volume one.

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Statement showing contemporary kings of the dynasties mentioned in Chapters I to VI of Book II and Chapter III of Book III.

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	The Solar dynasty	The Videha dynasty	The line of Diṣṭa
	I	II	III
1	Manu		Manu
2	Ikṣvāku		Nediṣṭa or Diṣṭa
3			
4	Vikukṣi	Nimi	Nābhāga
5	*Kakutstha*		Bhalandana
6	Anenas		
7	Pṛtha	Janaka	Vatsaprī
8	Viśvagaśva		
9	Ārdra		
10	Yuvanāśva I	Udāvasu	Prāṁśu
11	Śrāvasta		
12	Bṛhadaśva		
13	Kuvalayāśva	Nandivardhana	Prajāni
14	Dṛdhāśva		
15	Haryaśva I		
16	Nikumbha	Suketu	Khanitra
17	Saṁhatāśva		
18	Kṛśāśva		
19	*Prasenajit*	Devarāta	Kṣupa
20	*Yuvanāśva II*		
21	*Māndhātṛ* *		
22	Purukutsa* (S.B.)	Bṛhaduktha	Viṁśa
23	Trasadasyu		
24	Sambhūta		
25	Anaraṇya	Mahāvīrya	Viviṁśati
26	Pṛṣadaśva		
27	Haryaśva II		
28	Sumanas	Satyadhṛti	Khanīnetra
29	Tridhanvan		
30	Trayyāruṇa		

Continued on page 5.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The Yādavas	The Haihayas	The Pauravas	The Kānya-kubja dynasty	
IV	V	VI	VII	
Manu		Manu		1
Ilā		Ilā		2
Purūravas		Purūravas		3
Āyus		Āyus	Amāvasu	4
Nahuṣa		Nahuṣa		5
*Yayāti**		*Yayāti**		6
Yadu		Pūru		7
		Janamejaya I	Bhīma	8
Kroṣṭu	Sahasrajit	Prāchinvat		9
		Pravīra		10
Vṛjinīvat	Satajit	Manasyu		11
		Abhayada		12
Svāhi	Haihaya	Sudayvmna	Kañchan	13
		Bahugava		14
Ruśadgu	Dharmanetra	Saṁyātī		15
		Ahaṁyāti		16
Chitraratha	Kunti	Raudrāśva		17
		Ṛteyu	Suhotra	18
		Rantināra		19
*Śaśavindu**	Sāhanji	Taṁsu		20
Pṛthuyaśas (K)				21
Pṛthukarman (K)				22
Pṛthujaya (K)			*Jahnu*	23
Pṛthukīrtti (K)			Sumantu	24
Pṛthudāna (K)			Ajaka	25
Pṛthuśravas (K)	*Bhadraśrenya*		Balākāśva	26
			Kuśa	27
Tamas	*Durdama*		Kuśāmba	28
	Dhanaka		Gādhi	29
Antara	Kṛtavīrya			30

Continued on page 6.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The Bhārgavas	The Kāśi line	The line of Anu	
VIII	IX	X	
	Manu		1
	Ilâ		2
	Purūravas		3
	Āyus		4
	Nahuṣa		5
	Kṣatravṛdha	*Yayāti**	6
		Anu	7
	Suhotra		8
		Sabhānara	9
			10
	Kāśa		11
		Kālānara	12
			13
	Kāśirāja		14
		Sṛñjaya	15
			16
	Dīrghatamas	Purañjaya	17
			18
		Janamejaya	19
	Dhanvantari		20
			21
		Mahāmani	22
	Ketumat		23
			24
	Bhīmaratha	Mahāmanas	25
			26
	Divodāsa I		27
		Uśīnara	28
Ṛchīka	Aśṭāratha (M)	Śivi	29
		Kekaya	30

Continued on page 7.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

	The Solar dynasty	The Videha dynasty	The line of Diṣṭa
	I	II	III
31	*Satyavrata*	Dhṛṣṭaketu	Karandhama
32	*Hariśchandra*		
33	*Rohītāśva*		Avīkṣit
34	Harita	Haryaśva	Marutta* (S.B.)
35	Chañchu		
36	Vijaya		Nariṣyanta
37	Ruruka	Maru	
38	Vṛka		Dama
39	Bāhu		Rājyavardhana
40	*Sagara**	Pratibandhaka	Sudhṛti
41	Asamañjas		Nara
42	Aṁśumat		Kevala
43	Dilīpa I	Kṛtaratha	
44	Bhagīratha*		Bandhumat
45	Śruta		Vegavat
46	Nābhāga	Kṛta	Budha
47	Ambarīṣa*		Tṛṇavindu
48	Sindhudvīpa		
49	Ayutāśva	Vibudha	Viśāla

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

	The Yādavas	The Haihayas	The Pauravas	The Kānya kubja dynasty
	IV	V	VI	VII
31		*Arjuna**		*Viśvāmitra*
32	Uśanas	Jayadhvaja		
33		Tālajaṅgha		*Śunahśepa*
34	Śiteyus			
35	Rukmakavacha	Vītihotra		
36	Parāvṛt			
37	Jyāmagha	Madhu		
38				
39	*Vidarbha*		Anila	
40	Kratha	*Vṛṣṇi*		
41	Kunti	...		
42	Vṛṣṇi		Duṣyanta	
43	Nivṛti		*Bharata* (A.B.S.B.)	
44				
45	*Daśārha*		*Vitatha*	
46	Vyoman		*Bhavanmanyu*	
47	Jīmūta		Bṛhatkṣattra	
48	Vikṛti		Suhotra	
49	*Bhīmaratha*		Hastin	

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The Bhārgavas	The Kāśi line	The line of Anu	
VIII	**IX**	**X**	
Jamadagni			31
Rāma	Haryaśva (M)		32
		Uṣadratha	33
			34
			35
	Sudeva (M)		36
		Hema	37
			38
			39
	Divodāsa II (M)	Sutapas	40
	Pratardana		41
			42
	Alarka	*Bali*	43
			44
	Sannati	*Aṅga*	45
			46
	Sunītha		47
			48
			49

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

	The Solar dynasty	The Videha dynasty	The line of Diṣṭa
	I	II	III
50	*Ṛtuparṇa*		Hemachandra
51	Sarvakāma	Mahādhṛti	
52	Sudāsa		Suchandra
53	Saudāsa	Kṛtirāta	
54	Aśmaka		Dhūmrāśva
55	Mūlaka	Maharoman	
56	Daśaratha I		Sṛñjaya
57	Ilavila	Suvarṇaroman	
58	Viśvasaha I		Sahadeva
59	*Dilīpa II**	Hrasvaroman	Kṛśāśva
60	Dīrghabāhu		*Somadatta*
61	Raghu		Janamejaya
62	Aja		
63	*Daśaratha II*	*Sīradhvaja*	*Sumati*
64	Rāma*	Bhānumat	
65	*Kuśa*	Śatadyumna	
66	Atithi	Śuchi	
67	Niṣadha	Ūrjavāha	
68	Nala	Satyadhvaja	
69	Nabhas	Kuṇi	
70	Puṇḍarīka	Añjana	
71	Kṣemadhanvan	Ritujit	
72	Devānīka	Ariṣṭanemi	
73	Ahīnagu	Śrutāyus	
74	Pāripātra	Supārśva	
75	Dala	Sañjaya	
76	Chhala	Kṣemāri	
77	Uktha	Anenas	
78	Vajranābha	Minaratha	
79	Śankhanābha	Satyaratha	
80	Dhyuṣitāśva	Sātyarathi	
81	Viśvasaha II	Upagu	

Continued on page 11.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The Yādavas	The Dvimīḍhas	The Pauravas	The Northern Pañchālas	
IV	**V**	**VI**	**VII**	
Navaratha	Dvimīḍha	Ajamīḍha		50
Daśaratha	(son of Hastin)			51
Śakuni			Nīla	52
Karambha	Yavīnara		Śānti	53
Devarāta			Suśānti	54
Devakṣatra			Purujāna	55
Madhu	Dhṛtimat		Chakṣus	56
Anavaratha			Haryaśva I	57
Kuruvatsa			Mudgala	58
Anuratha	Satyadhṛti		Haryaśva II	59
Puruhotra				60
Aṁśu		*Ṛkṣa I*	*Divodāsa*	61
	Dṛdhanemi		Mitrayu	62
Satvata			*Sṛñjaya*	63
Bhajamāna			Chyavana	64
Andhaka			Sudāsa	65
	Supārśva		Saudāsa	66
Kukura				67
			Somaka	68
Vṛṣṇi or Vṛṣṭa	Sumati	Saṁvaraṇa		69
		Kuru	Jantu	70
Kapotaroman		Jahnu		71
		Suratha		72
Viloman	Sannatimat	Vidūratha		73
		Sārvabhauma		74
Tittiri (A)		Jayasena		75
		Āravin		76
Taittiri (A)		Ayutāyus		77
		Akrodhana		78
Bhava				79
		Devātithi		80
				81

Continued on page 12.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The Southern Pañchālas	The Kāśi line	The line of Anu	
VIII	IX	X	
Ajamīḍha	Suketu	Pāra	50
			51
Bṛhadiṣu	Dharmaketu	Diviratha	52
			53
Bṛhadvasu	Satyaketu		54
		Dharmaratha	55
Bṛhatkarman	Vibhu		56
			57
Jayadratha	Suvibhu	Chitraratha	58
			59
Viśvajit	Sukumāra		60
			61
Senajit	Dhṛṣṭaketu		62
		Romapāda	63
Ruchirāśva	Vainahotra		64
		Chaturaṅga	65
Pṛthusena	Bhārga		66
Pūra	Bhārgabhūmi	Pṛthulākṣa	67
Nīpa			68
Samara		Champa	69
Pāra			70
Pṛthu		Haryaṅga	71
			72
		Bhadraratha	73
Sukṛti			74
		Bṛhatkarman	75
			76
Vibhrāja		Bṛhadratha	77
			78
		Bṛhadbhānu	79
Anuha			80
		Bṛhanmanas	81

Continued on page 13.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

	The Solar dynasty	The Videha dynasty	The line of Diṣṭa
	I	II	III
82	*Hiraṇyanābha*	Śruta	
83	Puṣya	Śāśvata	
84	Dhruvasandhi	Sudhanvan	
85	Sudarśana	Subhāśa	
86	Agnivarṇa	Suśruta	
87	Śīghra	Jaya	
88	Maru	Vijaya	
89	Prasuśruta	Ṛta	
90	Susandhi	Śunaya	
91	Amarṣa	Vītahavya	
92	Mahasvat	Dhṛti	
93	Viśrutavat	Bahulāśva	
94	*Bṛhadbala*	Kṛti	

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The Yādavas	The Dvimīḍhas	The Pauravas	The Northern Pañchālas	
IV	V	VI	VII	
Abhijit	*Kṛta*	Ṛkṣa II		82
				83
		Dilīpa		84
Punarvasu				85
		Pratīpa		86
				87
Āhuka				88
		Śantanu		89
	Ugrāyudha	(Bhīṣma)	Pṛṣata	90
Ugrasena	Kṣemya	Vichitravīrya		91
Kaṁsa	Suvīra	*Dhṛtarāṣtra*	*Drupada*	92
Kṛṣṇa	Nṛpañjaya	*Pāṇḍavas**	*Dhṛṣṭadyumna*	93
	Bahuratha	*Abhimanyu*	*Dhṛṣṭaketu*	94

Note:—(1) The words A, K & M in brackets stand for the Agni Purana, the Kūrma Purāṇa or the Mahābhārata and show the authority for including these names in the dynasty of kings.

(2) The words AB & SB show that the names of these rulers are mentioned in the Aitareya and the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇas as having celebrated the Imperial Sacrifice.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The Southern Pañchālas	The Kāśi line	The line of Anu	
VIII	IX	X	
			82
		Jayadratha	83
			84
		Vijaya	85
Brahmadatta			86
Viśvaksena		Dhṛti	87
Udaksena			88
Bhallāṭa		Dhṛtavrata	89
Janamejaya			90
		Satyakarman	91
		Adhiratha	92
		Karṇa	93
			94

(3) The asterisk marks the 'chakravartins.'

(4) The italics show the kings asçertained to be contemporaries.

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NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Statement showing the contemporary kings of the Solar, the Lunar, the Magadha and the Kashmir dynasties, after the Mahābhārata war.

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	The Lunar dynasty	The Magadha line	
1	*Arjuna*	*Jarāsandha*	
2	Abhimanyu	Sahadeva	
3	Parikṣit	Somāpi	(58 V ; 50 M)
4	Janamejaya	Śrutavat	(67 V ; 64 M)
5	Śatānika I	Ayutāyus	(36 V ; 26 M)
	Sahasrānika	Niramitra	(100 V ; 40 M)
6	Aśvamedhadatta	Sukṣatra	(58 V ; 56 M)
7	Adhisīmakṛṣṇa	Bṛhatkarman	(23 V ; 23 M)
8	Nichakru	Senajit	(23 V ; 50 M)
9	Uṣṇa	Śrutanjaya	(40 V ; 40 M)
10	Chitraratha	Vipra	(35 V ; 28 M)
11	Suchidratna	Śuchi	(58 V ; 64 M)
12	Vṛṣṇimat	Kṣemya	(28 V ; 28 M)
13	Suṣeṇa	Suvrata	(60 V ; 64 M)
14	Sunītha	Dharma	(5 V ; 34 M)
15	Ṛcha	Suśrama	(38 V ; 58 M)
16	Nṛchakṣus	Dṛḍhasena	(48 V ; 28 M)
17	Sukhābala	Sumati	(33 V ; 48 M)
18	Pariplava		
19	Sunaya	Subala	(22 V ; 33 M)
20	Medhāvin		
21	Nṛpañjaya	Sunīta	(40 V ; 32 M)
22	Mṛdu		
23	Tigma	Satyajit	(80 V)
24	Bṛhadratha	Viśvajit	(35 V)
25	Vasudāna	Ripuñjaya	(50 V ; 2 M)
26	Śatānika II	*Pradyotana*	(23 V ; 2 M)

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The Solar dynasty	The Kashmir kings	
Bṛhadbala	*Gonanda I*	1
Bṛhatkṣaṇa	Dāmodara I	2
Urukṣepa	Gonanda II	3
Vatsa		4
Vatsavyūha		5
Prativyoma		6
Bhānu		7
Divākara		8
Sahadeva		9
Bṛhadaśva		10
Bhānuratha		11
Supratīka		12
Supratīpa		13
		14
Marudeva		15
		16
Sunakṣatra		17
		18
Kiṁnara		19
		20
		21
Antarikṣa		22
		23
Suvarṇa		24
		25
Amitrajit		26

Thirty-five kings whose names have been lost

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

	The Lunar dynasty	The Magadha line	
27	*Udayana*	Pālaka	(24 V ; 28 M)
28	Ahīnara	Viśākhayūpa	(50 V ; 53 M)
29	Khaṇḍapāṇi	Janaka	(21 V & M)
30	Niramitra	Nandivardhana	(20 V & M)
31	Kṣemaka	Śiśunāga	(40 V & M)
32		Kākavarṇa	(36 V & M)
33		Kṣemadhanvan	(20 V ; 36 M)
34		Kṣattranjas	(40 V ; 36 M)
35		*Bimbisāra*	(28 V ; 28 M)
36		*Ajātaśatru*	(25 V ; 27 M)
37		Darbhaka	(25 V ; 24 M)
38		Udayāśva	(33 V & M)
39		Nandivardhana	(42 V ; 43 M)
40		Mahānandin	(40 V ; 43 M)
41		Nanda	
42		*Sumālya*	
43		Chandragupta	
44		Bindusara	
45		Aśoka	

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The Solar dynasty	The Kashmir kings	
Bṛhadrāja		27
Dharmin		28
		29
Kṛṭanjaya		30
		31
Raṇanjaya		32
Sanjaya		33
Śuddhodana		34
Śākya		35
Rāhula		36
Prasenajit	Lava	37
Kṣudraka	Kuśa	38
Kuṇḍaka	Khagendra	39
Suratha	Surendra	40
Sumitra	Godhara	41
	Suvarṇa	42
	Janaka	43
	Sachināra	44
	Aśoka	45

Note:—(1) The names of kings who are ascertained to be contemporaries are in italics.

(2) The figures in brackets show the number of years for which the rulers of the Magadha line are said to have reigned in the Vāyu Purāna and the Matsya Purāna, the abbreviation V standing for the Vāyu and M for the Matsya Purāna.

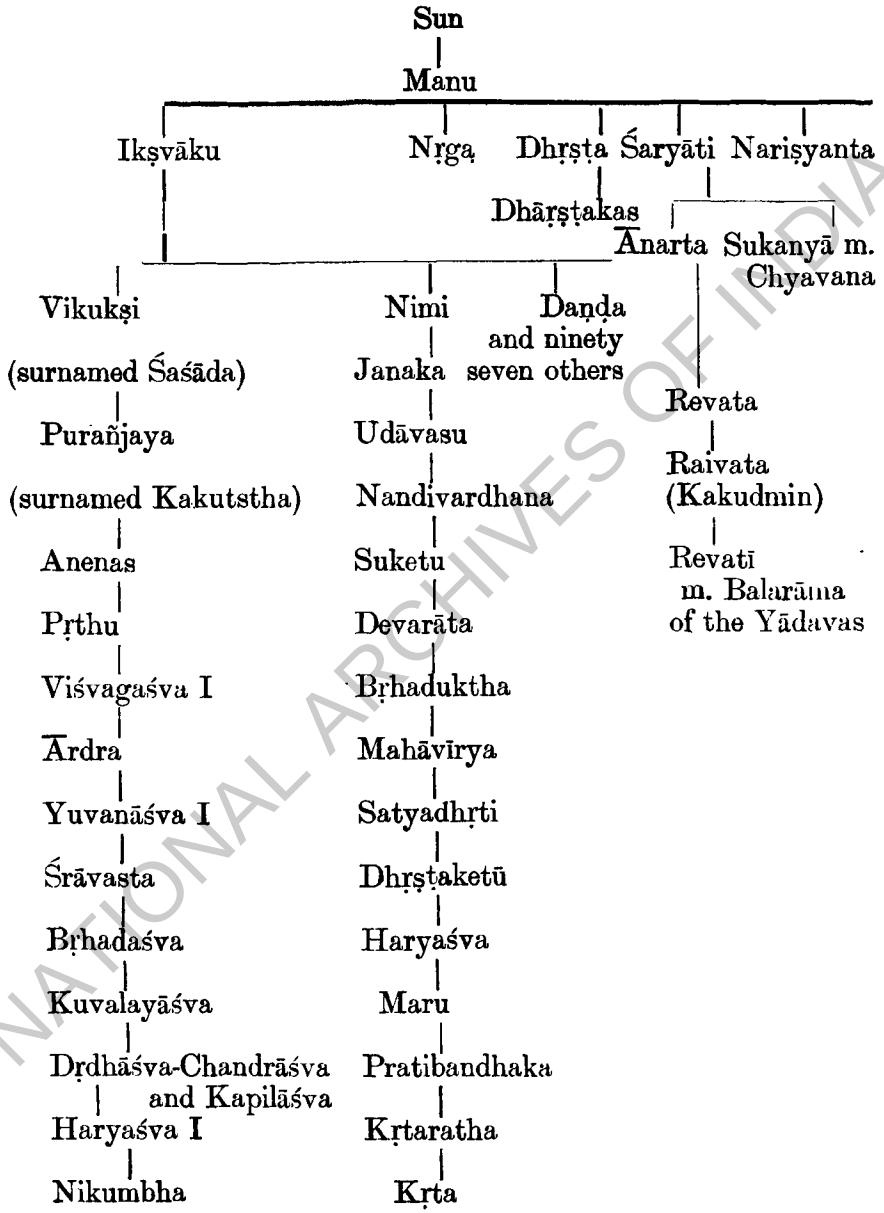
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APPENDIX A.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

APPENDIX A.



(Continued on page 4.)

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The Solar Dynasty

Prāṁśu	Nabhāga	Nediṣṭha	Karūṣa	Pṛṣadhra
	Nābhāga	Nābhāga	Kāruṣas	
	Ambarīṣa	Bhalandana		
	Vīrūpa	Vatsaprī		
	Pṛṣadaśva	Prāṁśu		
	Rathītara	Prajāni		
		Khanitra		
		Kṣupa		
		Viṁśa		
		Viviṁśati		
		Khanīnetra		
		Avikṣit		
		Marutta		
		Nariṣyanta		
		Dama		
		Rājyavardhana		
		Sudhṛti		
		Nara		
		Kevala		

(Continued on page 5.)

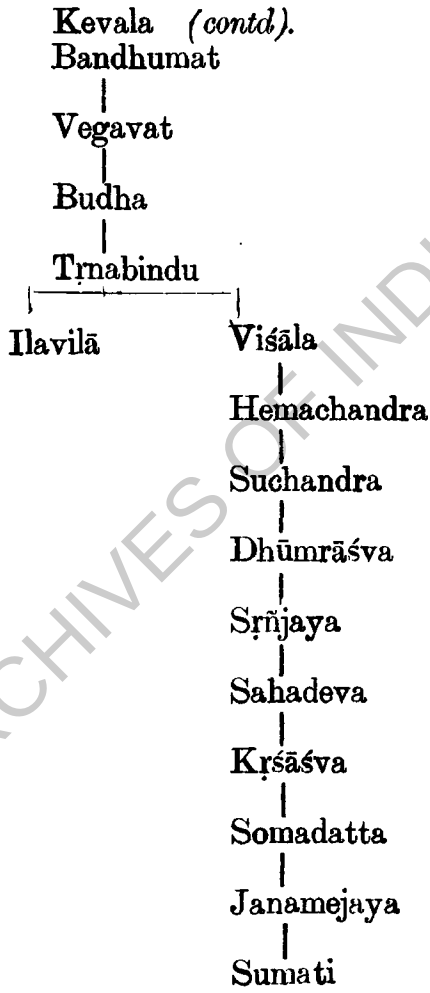
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Nikumbha *(contd.)*
Saṁhatāśva
Kṛśāsva
Prasenajit
Yuvanāśva II
Māndhātṛ
(1) Ambaīrṣa I
(2) Muchukunda
Yuvanāśva III
Haritas–ancestor of the Aṅgirasa Hāritas
Purukutsa
Trasadasyu
Saṁbhūta
Anaraṇya
Pṛṣadaśva
Haryaśva II
Sumanas
Tridhanvan
Trayyāruṇa
Satyavrata (Triśanku)
Hariśchandra
Rohitāśva

Kṛta *(contd.)*
Vibudha
Mahādhṛti
Kṛtirāta
Mahāroman
Suvarṇaroman
Hṛasvaroman
Śīradhvaja Kuśadhvaja
Bhānumat
Śatadyumna
Śuchi
Ūrjavāha
Satyadhvaja
Kuṇi
Añjana
Ritujit
Ariṣṭanemi
Śrutāyus
Supārśva
Sañjaya

(Continued on page 6.)

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NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Rohitāśva *(contd.)*
Harita
Chunchu
Vijaya — Sudeva
Ruruka
Vṛka
Bāhu
Sagara
Asamañjas
Aṁśumat
Dilīpa I
Bhagīratha
Śruta
Nabhāga
Ambarīṣa II
Sindhudvīpa
Ayutāśva
Ṛtuparṇa
Sarvakāma
Sudāsa
Saudāsa

Sañjaya *(contd.)*
Kṣemāri
Anenas
Mīnaratha
Satyaratha
Sātyarathi
Upagu
Śruta
Śāśvata
Sudhanvan
Subhāsa
Suśruta
Jaya
Vijaya
Ṛta
Sunaya
Vitahavya
Dhṛti
Bahulāśva
Kṛti

(Continued on page 7.)

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Saudāsa *(contd.)*
Aśmaka
|
Mūlaka
|
Daśaratha
|
Ilāvila
|
Viśvasaha.
|
Dilīpa II or Khaṭvāṅga
|
Dīrghabāhu
|
Raghu
|
Aja
|
Daśaratha

Rāma	Lakṣmaṇa	Bharata	Śatrughna
	(1) Aṅgada	(1) Takṣa	(1) Subāhu
Kuśa Lava	(2) Chandraketu	(2) Puṣkara	(2) Śūrasena

Atithi
|
Niṣadha
|
Nala
|
Nabhas
|
Puṇḍarīka
|
Kṣemadhanvan
|
Devānīka
|
Ahīnagu

(Continued on page 8.)

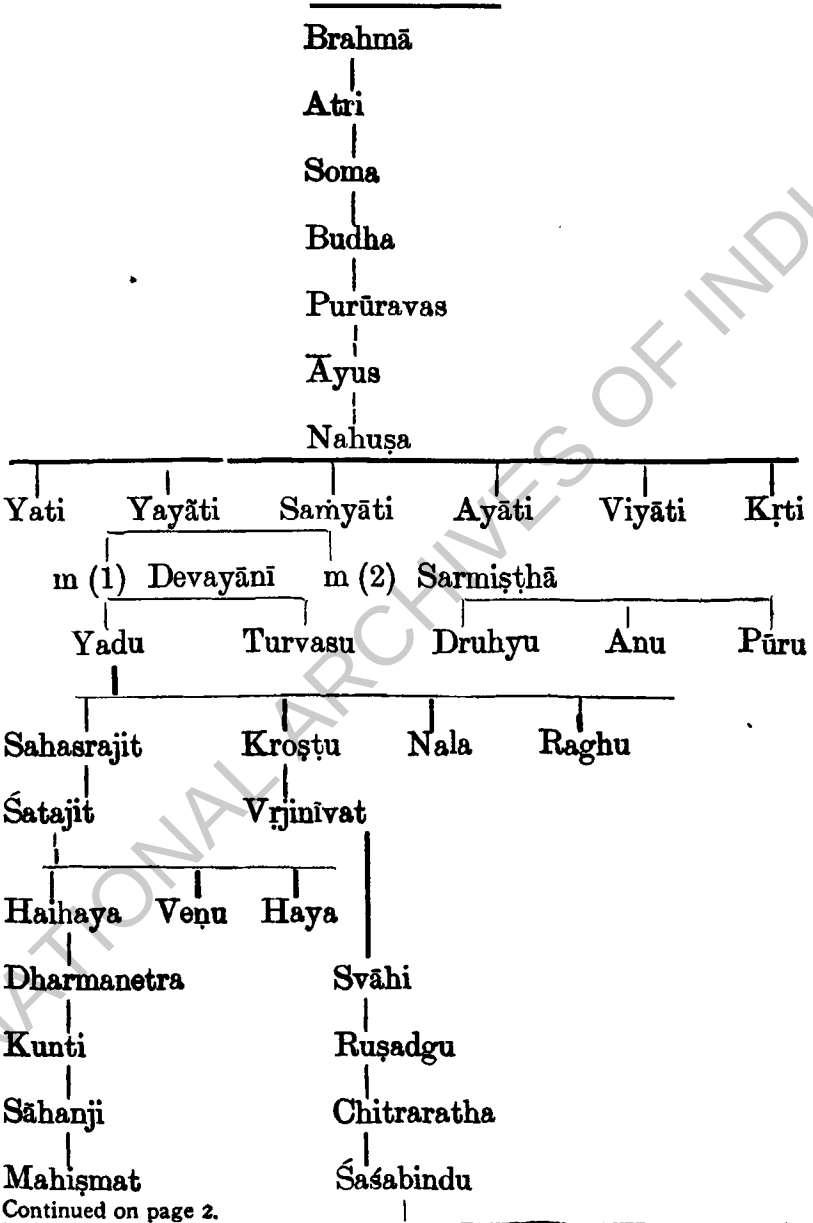
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Ahīnagu *(contd.)*
Pāripātra
|
Dala
|
Chhala
|
Uktha
|
Vajranābha
|
Śaṅkhanābha
|
Dhyuṣitāśva
|
Viśvasaha
|
Hiraṇyanābha
|
Puṣya
|
Dhruvasandhi
|
Sudarśana
|
Agnivarṇa
|
Śīghra
|
Maru
|
Prasuśruta
|
Susandhi
|
Amaṛṣa
|
Mahasvat
|
Viśrutavat
|
Bṛhadbala

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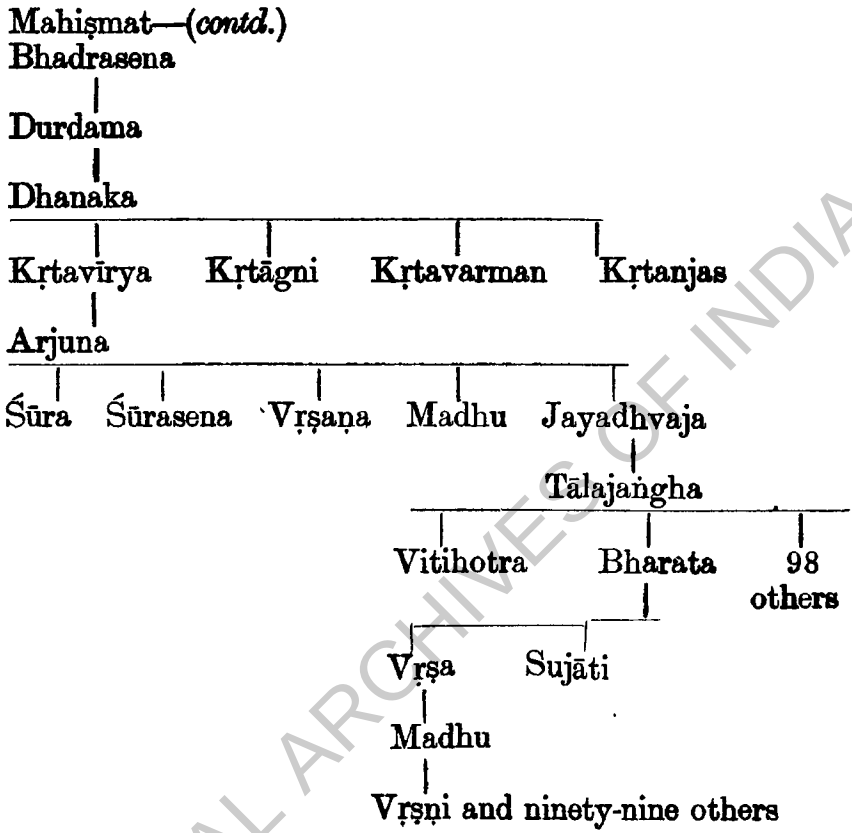
APPENDIX B.

The Yādavas or descendants of Yadu, the eldest son of Yayāti

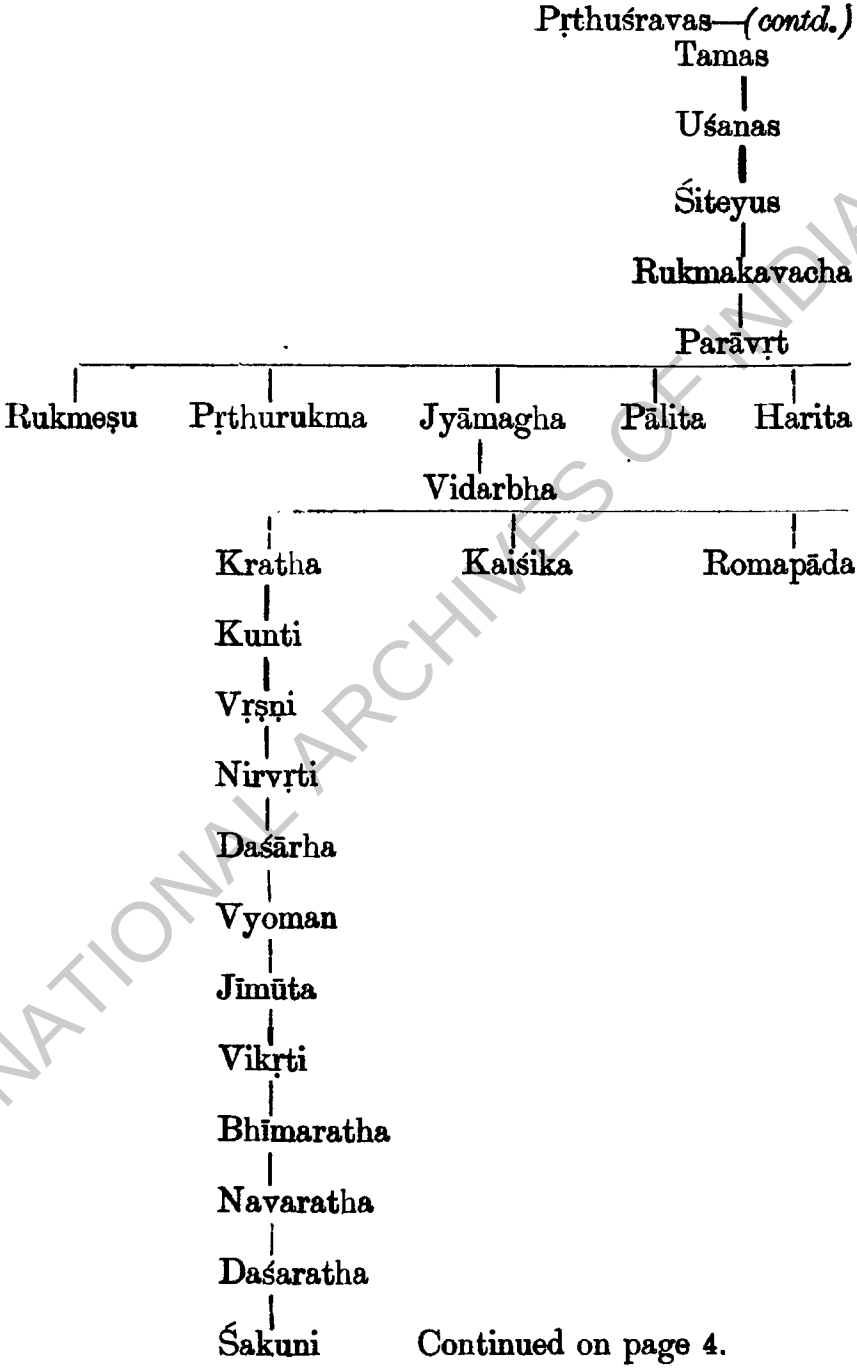


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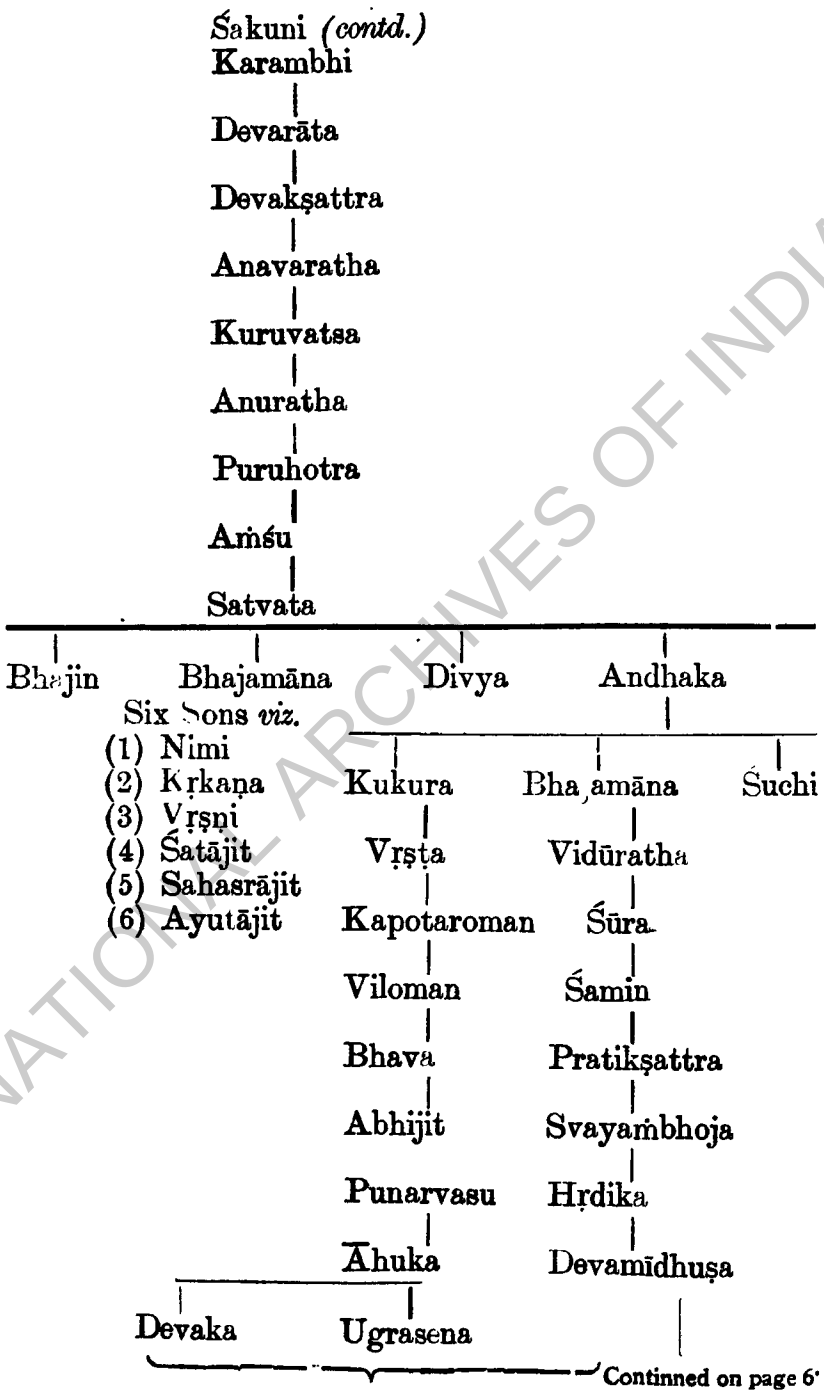


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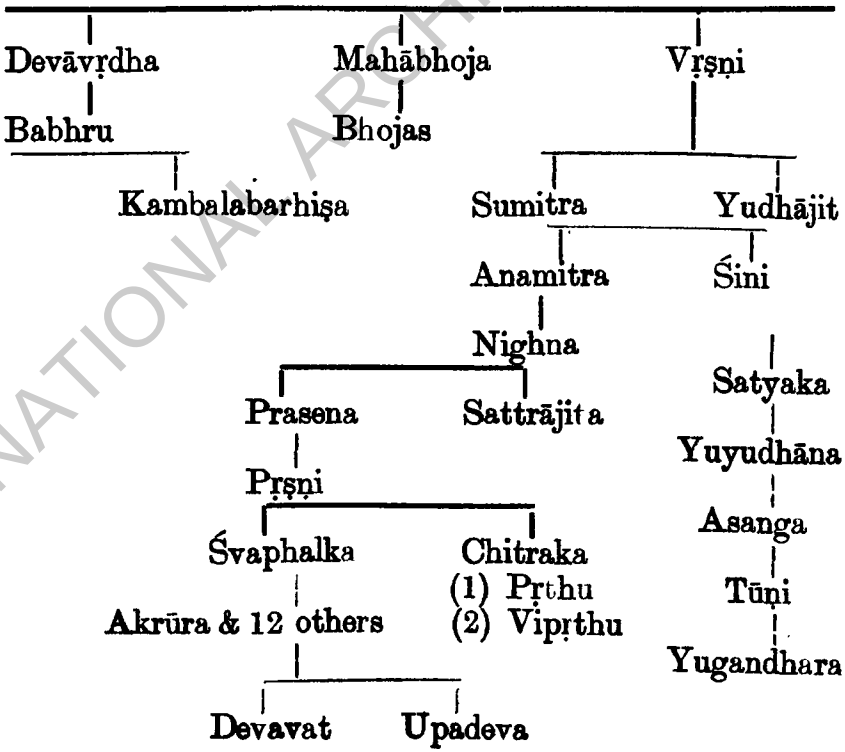


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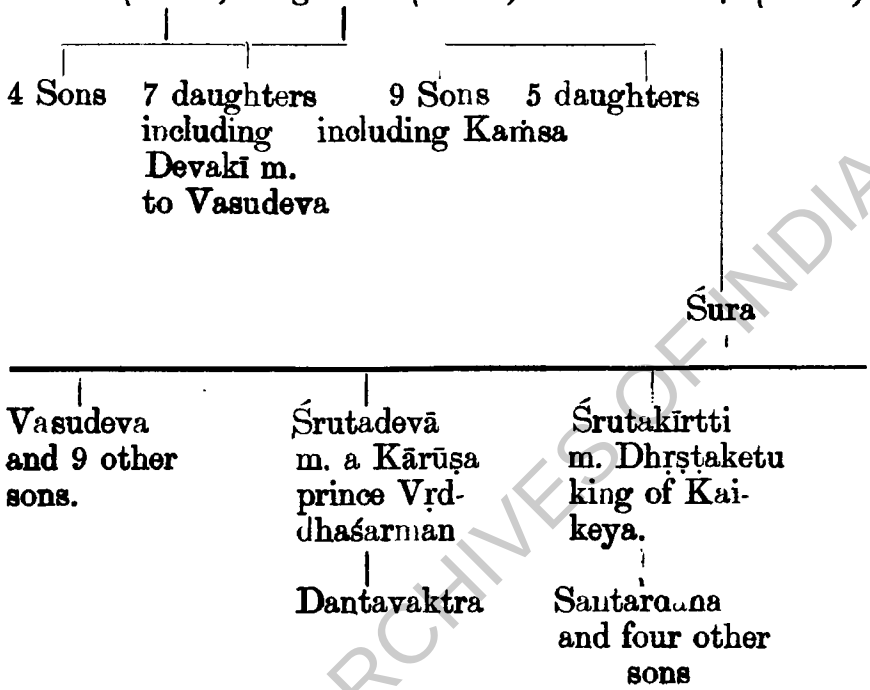
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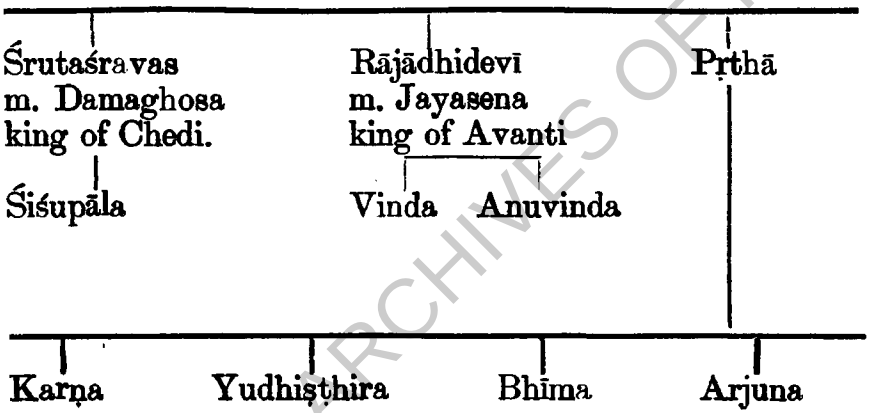
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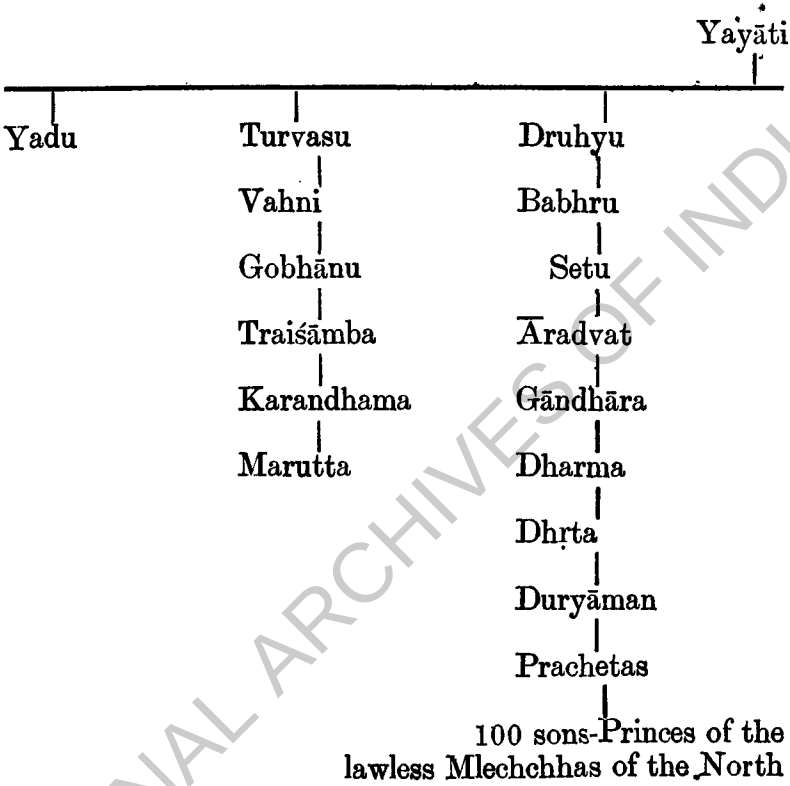
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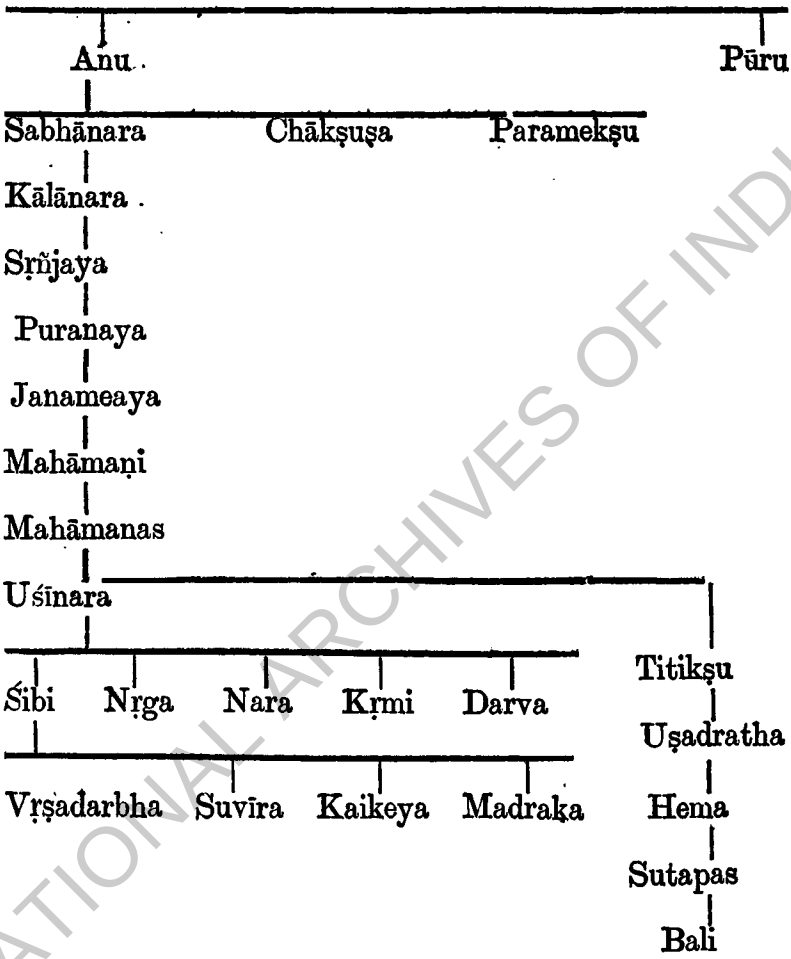
APPENDIX C

The descendants of Turvasu, Druhyu and Anu, the second, third and fourth sons of Yayāti.

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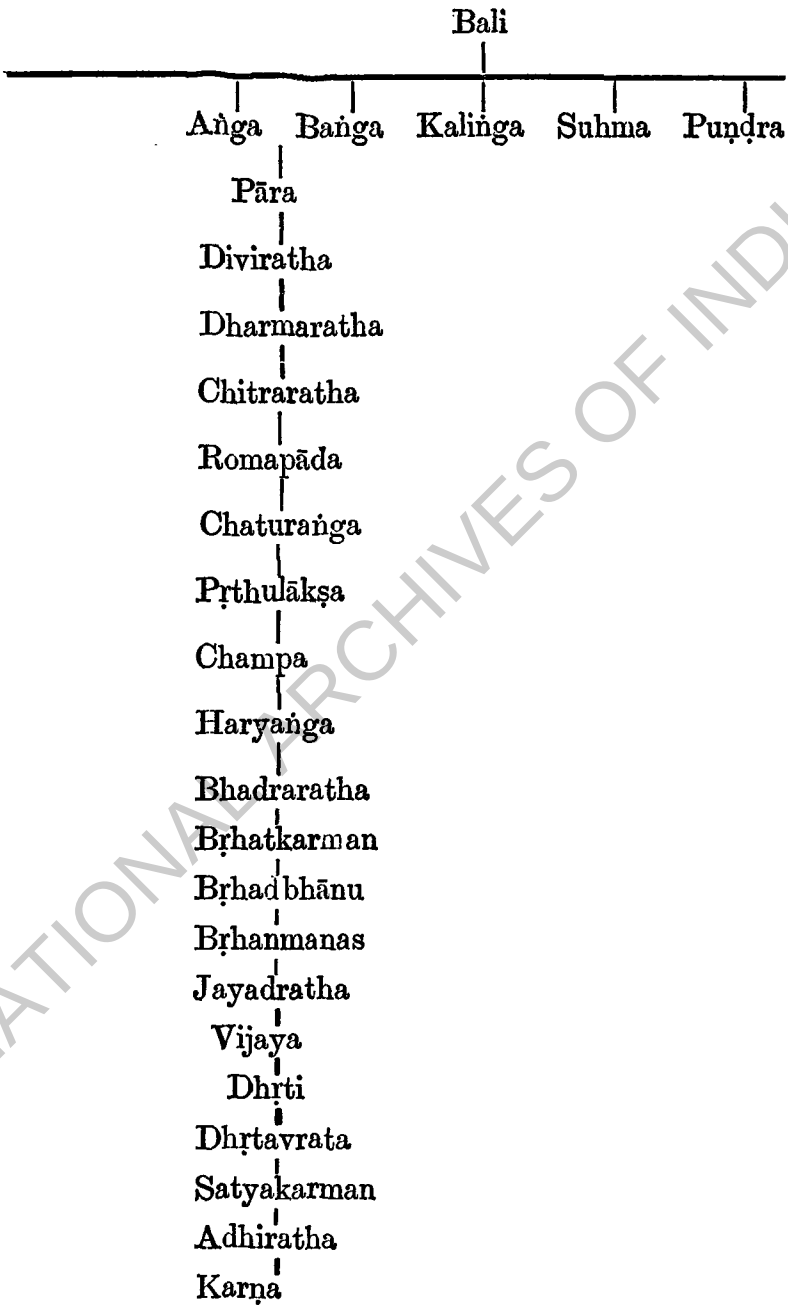


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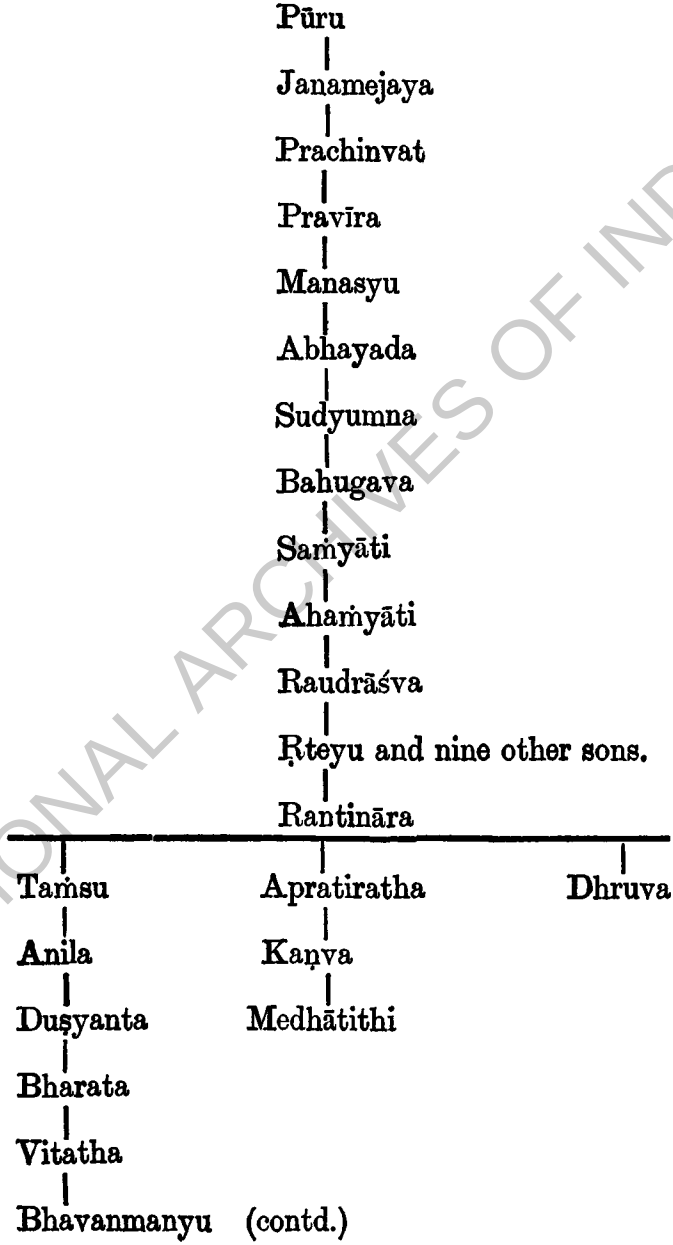


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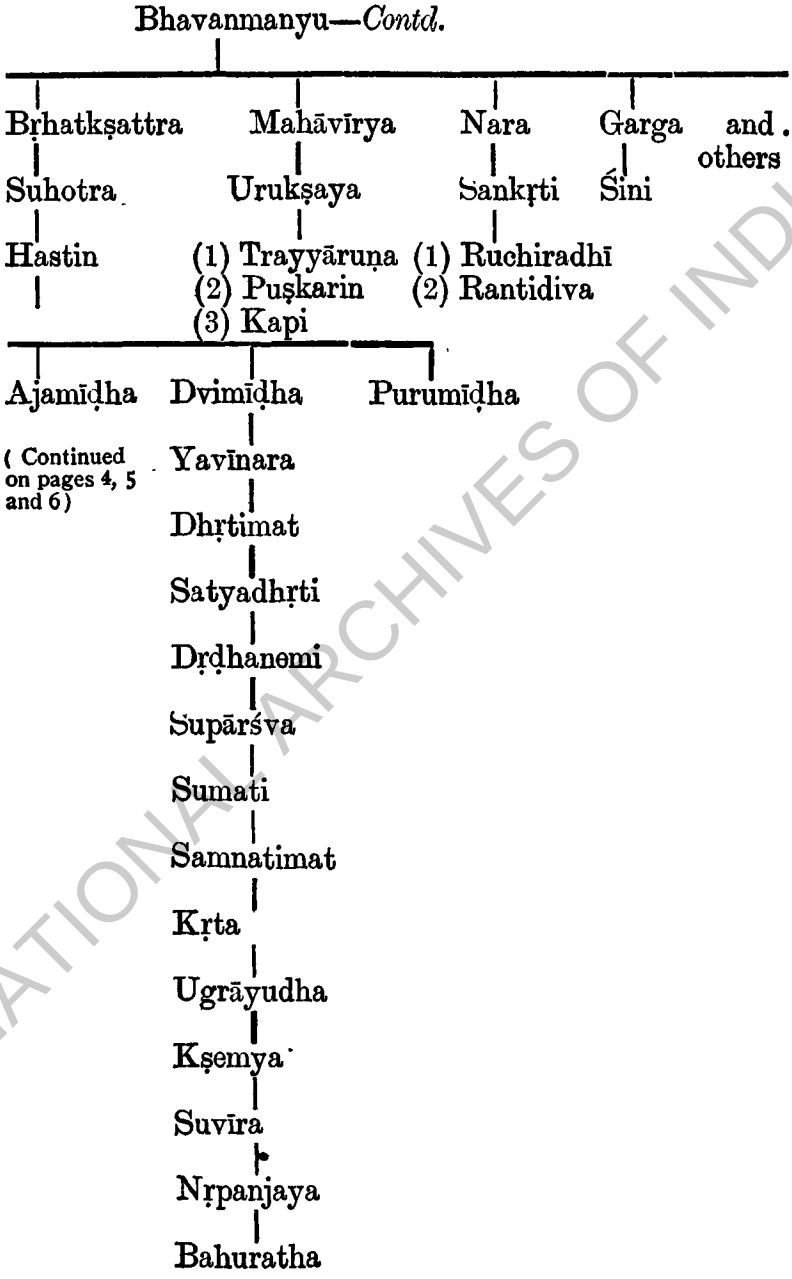
APPENDIX D

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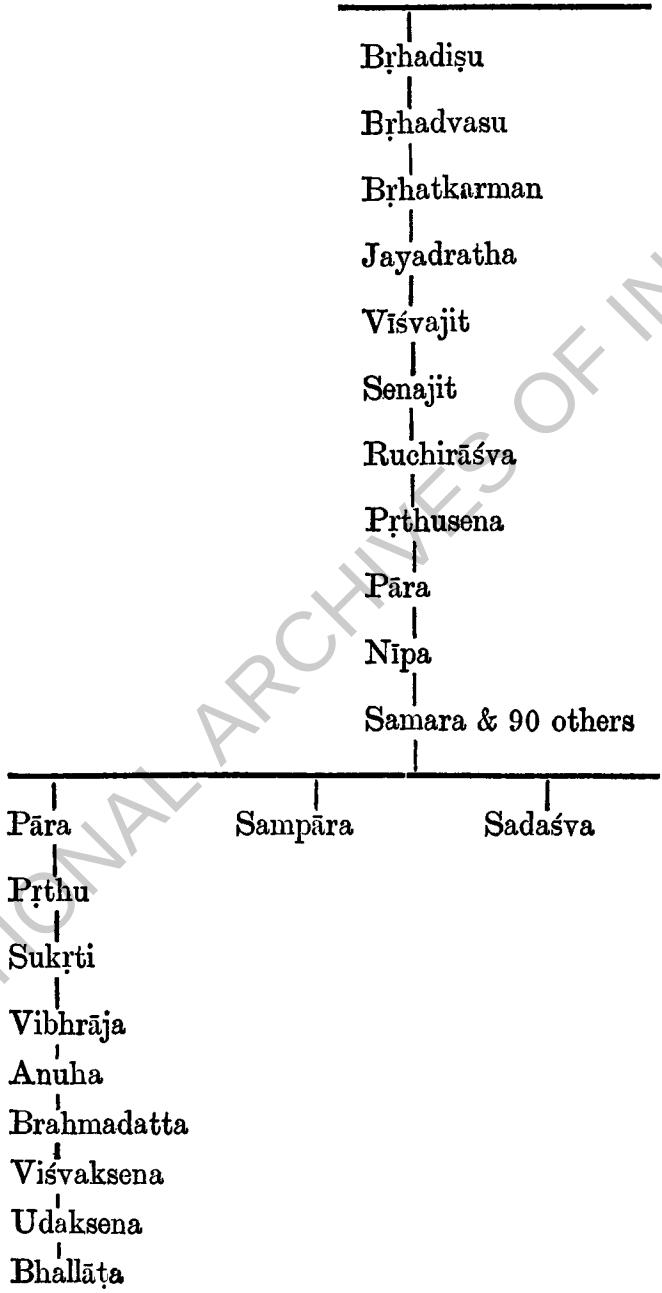
The descendants of Pūru, the fifth son of Yayāti of the Lunar Dynasty.



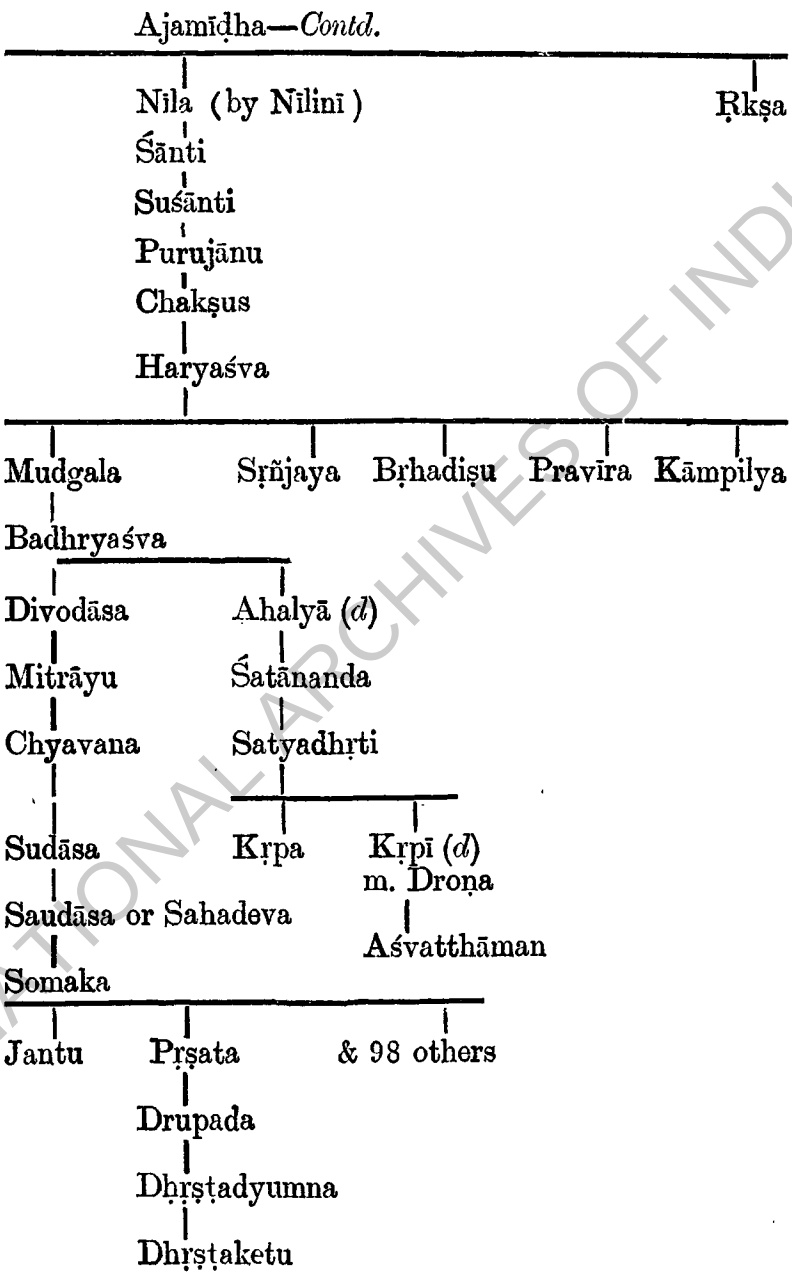
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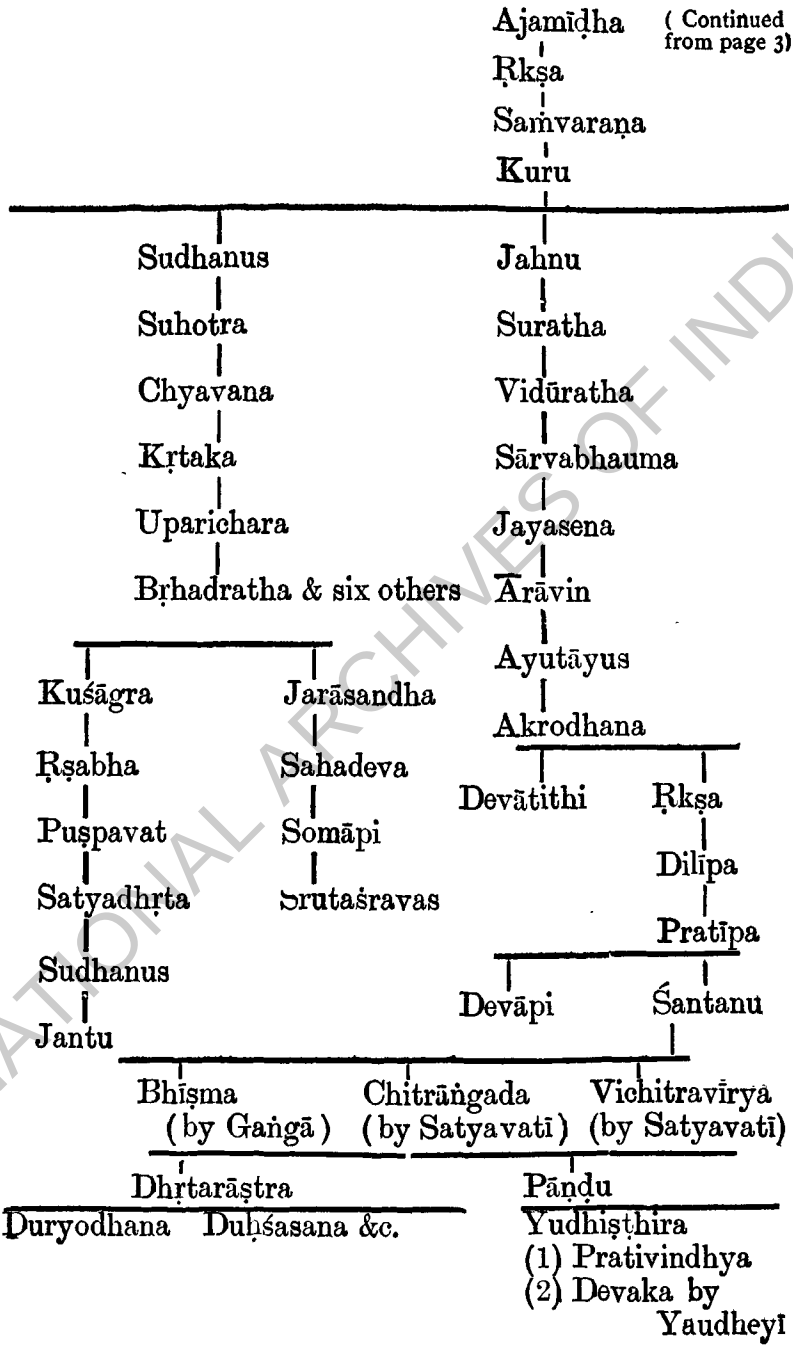
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Parīkṣit and others

Janamejaya and three others

Vāhlīka

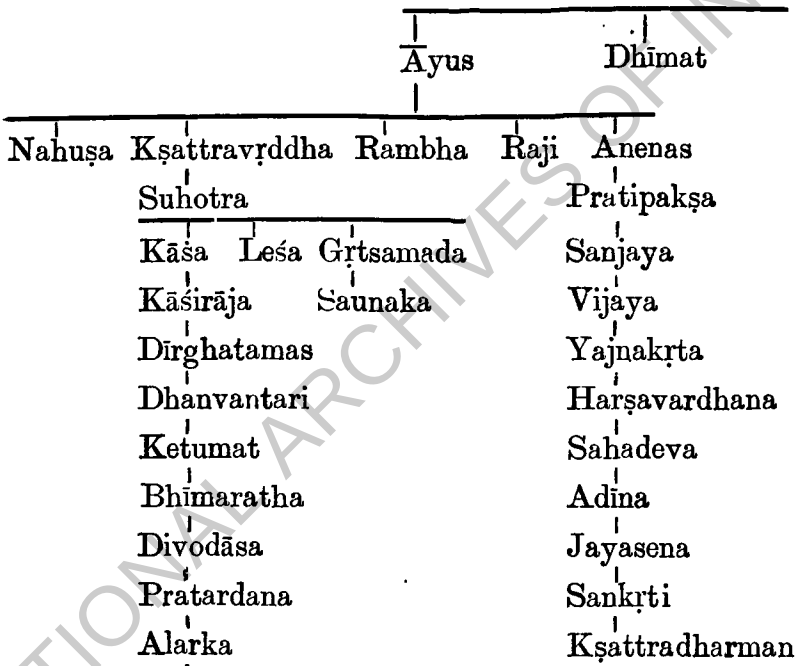
Somadatta

Bhūri Bhūriśravas Śala

Bhīma	Arjuna	Sahadeva	Nakula
(1) Śrutasoma	Irāvat	Suhotra	Niramitra
(2) Ghaṭotkacha	Babhruvāhana	Śrutakarman	Śatānīka
(3) Sarvatraga	Abhimanyu		

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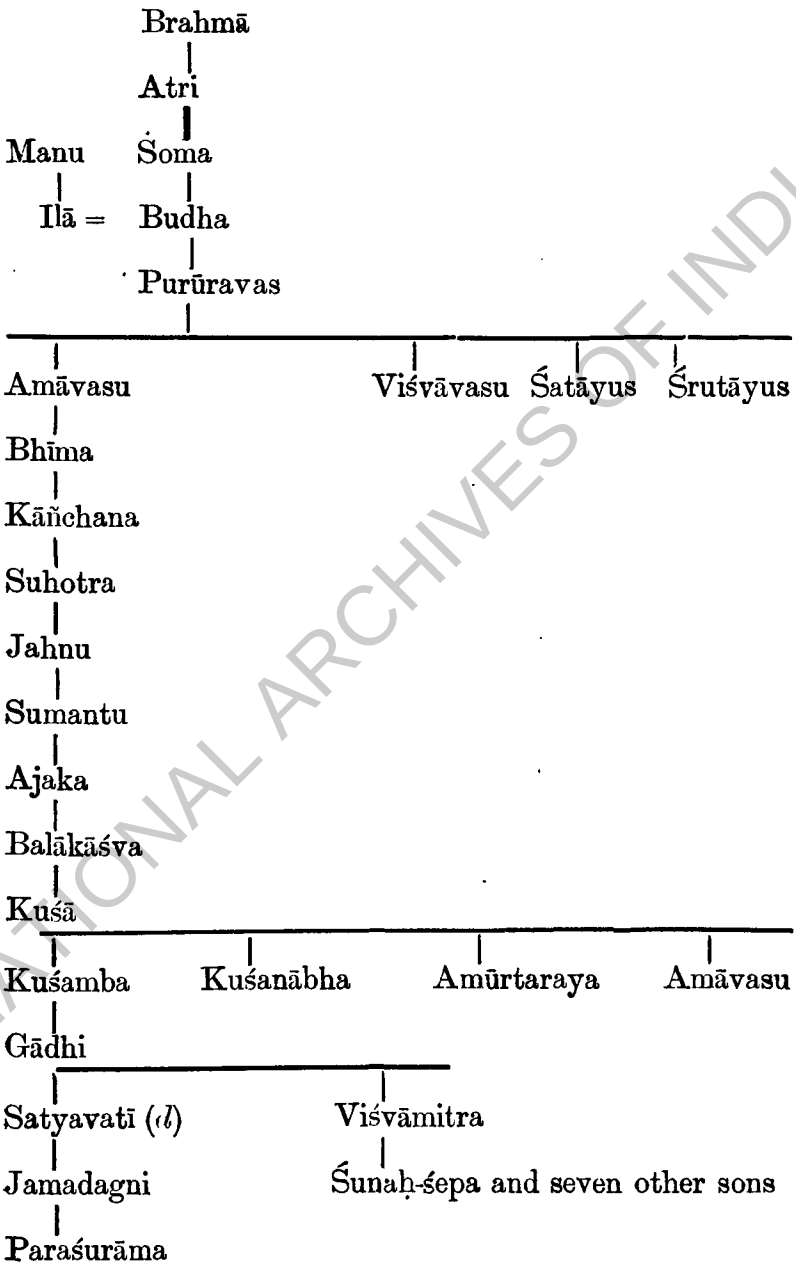
APPENDIX E



(continued on p. 3)

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THE KĀSĪ LINE.



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Suvibhu—(continued)
|
Sukumāra
|
Dhṛṣṭaketu
|
Vainahotra
|
Bhārga
|
Bhārgabhūmi

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	Do. Hari Vaṁśa.
	Do. Mahābhārata
	Do. Rāmāyaṇa.
	Do. Ṛgveda.
	Do. Viṣṇu Purāṇa.
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	Mahābhārata (condensed into English verse.)
	Rāmāyaṇa (do.)
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	battle between the Pāṇḍavas & the Kauravas (J.R.A.S.1908.)
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	Chaldea Do.
	Vedic India Do.
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Rawlinson (Canon)	Ancient History.
Ray P. C.	The History of Hindu Chemistry.
Risley, Sir H.	The People of India.
Roy, P. C.	The Mahābhārata (translated into English.)
Sanjānā	The Civilization of the Eastern Iranians (translated into English from the original of Geiger.)
Sewell	Indian Chronography.
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Śāradā, Har Bilās	Hindu Superiority.
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Whitney	The Atharvaveda (Vols. I & II) (Harvard's Oriental Series.)

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	The Rāmāyaṇa.
	The Rājataraṅgiṇī.
K. M. Jhaveri	Kṛṣṇa Charitra.
Narmadāshanker	Narma Kathā Kośa.
Veda Dharma Sabhā	Bhāratārtha Prakāśa.

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Transliteration of Sanskrit words adopted in this Volume.

—:o:—

अ=a; आ=ā; इ=i; ई=ī; उ=u; ऊ=ū; ऋ=ṛ; ॠ=ṝ; ऌ=ḷ; ॡ=ḹ; ए=e; ऐ=ai; ओ=o; औ=au; क=k; ख=kh; ग=g; घ=gh; ङ=ṅ; च=ch; छ=chh; ज=j; झ=jh; ञ=ñ; ट=ṭ; ठ=ṭh; ड=ḍ; ढ=ḍh; ण=ṇ; त=t; थ=th; द=d; ध=dh; न=n; प=p; फ=ph; ब=b; भ=bh; म=m; य=y; र=r; ल=l; व=v; श=ś; ष=ṣ; स=s; ह=h; Anusvāra=ṁ; Visarga=ḥ.

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ERRATA.

Page.	Line.	Incorrect.	Correct.
4 and 26	19 & 20	Vindhyā	Vindhya
49	17	Duties	Deities
67	25	Savitṛr	Savitṛ
81	13	the	(to be dropped)
99	28 & 29	Anarta	Ānarta
101	31 & 32	'the' & 'of'	(to be dropped)
102	15	hiss on	his son
108	7	Nahuṣa	Yadu
117	10	younger	eldest
120	16, 18-20 & 24	Māndhāṭṛ	Māndhātṛ
198	11	Bharga	Bhārgabhūmi
215	32	Kṣshmir	Kashmir
„	33	Rochamṣna	Rochamāna
216	31	fson	from
232	28	no	not
261	14	Babylonians	Babylonian
262	12	Ekāsaanas	Ekāsanas
269	2	Anuiśasana Parva	Anuśasana Parva
293	9	essenses	essence
293	20	Saṇkhya Kārikā	Sāṅkhya Kārikā
295	1	Sāṇkhya	Sāṅkhya
314	18	Unversal	Universal
statement No. 1 p 3		Sudayvmna	Sudyumna
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Note.

The letters 'S1' and 'S2' stand for the first and second of the statements of contemporary kings.

The letters A1, A2 etc., denote the Appendix and its page. Thus A1 means page 1st of Appendix A, A2, page 2 of Appendix A, &c.



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